DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 365 585 SO 023 473

TITLE	The Soviet Successor States and Eastern Europe. Teachers' Guide. Revised.
INSTITUTION	Indiana Univ., Bloomington. Russian and East European Inst.
SPONS AGENCY	Department of Education, Washington, DC.
PUB DATE	Apr 93
NOTE	291p.
AVAILABLE FROM	Russian and East European Institute, Indiana University, Ballantine Hall 565, Bloomington, IN 47405.
PUB TYPE	Guides - Classroom Use - Teaching Guides (For Teacher) (052)
EDRS PRICE	MF01/PC12 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS	*Ethnic Groups; Foreign Countries; Higher Education; *Human Geography; Maps; Nationalism; Physical Divisions (Geographic); *Political Divisions (Geographic); Secondary Education; *Social Change; Social Studies; Teaching Guides
IDENTIFIERS	*Europe (East); Russia; *USSR

ABSTRACT

This document is a guide to provide teachers and curriculum consultants with an up to date overview of the histories, cultures, and current issues concerning the region of the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. It is not intended as an in depth study of the area or people. The guide is divided into two parts. The first discusses the Soviet successor states. The Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) is treated as a separate entity of the Soviet successor states. Several pages on the organization of the CIS precede the Russian section in which Soviet history is discussed. Next each of the successor states are discussed. These are arranged alphabetically and include Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Moldava, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Ukraine, and Uzbekistan. These are followed by a bibliography for Soviet successor states. The second section is Eastern Europe. The countries listed here are Albania, Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Romania, and the Slovak Republic. The countries of former Yugoslavia are arranged alphabetically, Bosnia and Hercogovina, Croatia, Macedonia, Slovenia, and Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro), and grouped as South Slaves. A section on Yugoslavia history and South Slav chronology follows. A bibliography for Eastern Europe ends the section. A map precedes the discussion of each country. Each country chapter is individually paginated. The chronologies of ea country chapter are taken primarily from the Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty Research Institute Reports. (DK)

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ED 365 585

TEACHERS' GUIDE

to
THE SOVIET SUCCESSOR STATES
AND
EASTERN EUROPE

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
Office of Educational Research and Improvement
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SO 023 473

Prepared by
the Indiana University
Russian and East European Institute
New Revised Edition
APRIL 1993

Made possible by funding from the U.S. Department of Education, under
Title VI of the Higher Education Act:
National Resource Centers and Foreign Langauge and Area Studies

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The purpose of this guide is to provide teachers and curriculum consultants with an up-to-date overview of the histories, cultures and current issues concerning the region of the former-Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. This is not intended to be an in-depth study of these countries and their people. Since the guide was first produced by the Russian and East European Institute staff, it has gone through many permutations. This is very much a collective effort, and as such, compromises have been made both due to time and human resource constraints, and as a direct effect of the constantly changing picture of this area of the world. The faculty and graduate students of the Russian and East European Institute have been contributing their time and talents to this project for almost ten years. Each year, we hope it will get easier: it continues to be more difficult. Editorial and organizational decisions have been made in the spirit of providing information. Therefore, the CIS is still treated as a separate entity as the Soviet Successor States, though the Baltic States are treated as individual countries within the Eastern Europe section. The countries of former Yugoslavia are arranged alphabetically and grouped as South Slavs, though one could argue that this should be changed, and no doubt in the next version of this guide it will be. The efforts of the REEI staff have been to keep the guide current, not to provide analysis of the issues at hand. The common issues of political and economic reform are discussed in each country section. The guide's aim is to provide a historical context in which to understand the current events in the countries of Eastern Europe and the Soviet successor states. To the extent that we might make the task of the teacher easier by providing such a frame of reference from which to build lesson plans, then we have succeeded in accomplishing our mission. We welcome suggestions for future editions.

The few pages on the organization of the CIS precede the Russia section (in which Soviet history is discussed), followed by the successor states (arranged alphabetically), and then by Eastern Europe (arranged alphabetically). Each country chapter is individually paginated (hopes were to have a looseleaf document to which updated chronologies could be added each year). The chronologies of each country chapter are taken primarily from the Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty Research Institute Reports.

Throughout the guide references have been made to audio-visual materials appropriate to specific issues or countries, but this is not an exhaustive reference. Teachers are encouraged to request the *REEI Resource Guide to Teaching Aids in Russian and East European Studies Available for Loan or Rent from Indiana University.*

As a National Resource Center for Slavic Languages and Area Studies, the Outreach services of the Indiana University Russian and East European Institute include the Outreach Speakers' Bureau, which sends university faculty and graduate students free of charge to speak to your classroom, school or community group on a broad range of topics; presentations to meetings of social studies and language arts teachers (state-wide, system- or district-wide, or individual schools); honors seminars for high school students; curriculum and lesson plan reviews; and a lending library of audio-visual materials for which the only cost is return postage and insurance. Write to the address below to request a free copy of the *REEI Resource Guide to Teaching Aids in Russian and East European Studies*. The REEI Outreach program is rather flexible, and if you'll let us know how we can best serve your needs, we'll make an effort to respond.

The original concept of this guide was developed by Karen S. Niggle, REEI Outreach Coordinator from 1984 to 1989. REEI graduate assistants contributing their talents to the original document (1986-87) included Robin Bisha, Melissa Bokovoy and Phyllis Schrock. Eastern Europe additions and revisions were effected in 1988-89 through graduate assistants Tim Costello, John Cox, Shaun Gelsinger and Sue Panek. A major revision of the guide was carried out in April 1990 under the direction of Ellie Valentine by REEI Graduate Assistants Bryan Costello, D. Michael DeLuca, Suzanne Polak, and Larry Wright, continued in 1991 by Vince Comerchero, Mary Dakin, Diane Kraft and Suzanne Polak. Linda Dausch, Suzanne Dietrich, Jeff Pennington and William McFadden tackled the 1992 revisions. This 1993 edition was a collective effort of graduate assistants Edward Barrall, Melissa Caldwell, Derek Johnson, and Kelly Moore under the editorial supervision of Robin Bisha.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Introduction
Table of Contents

Soviet Successor States

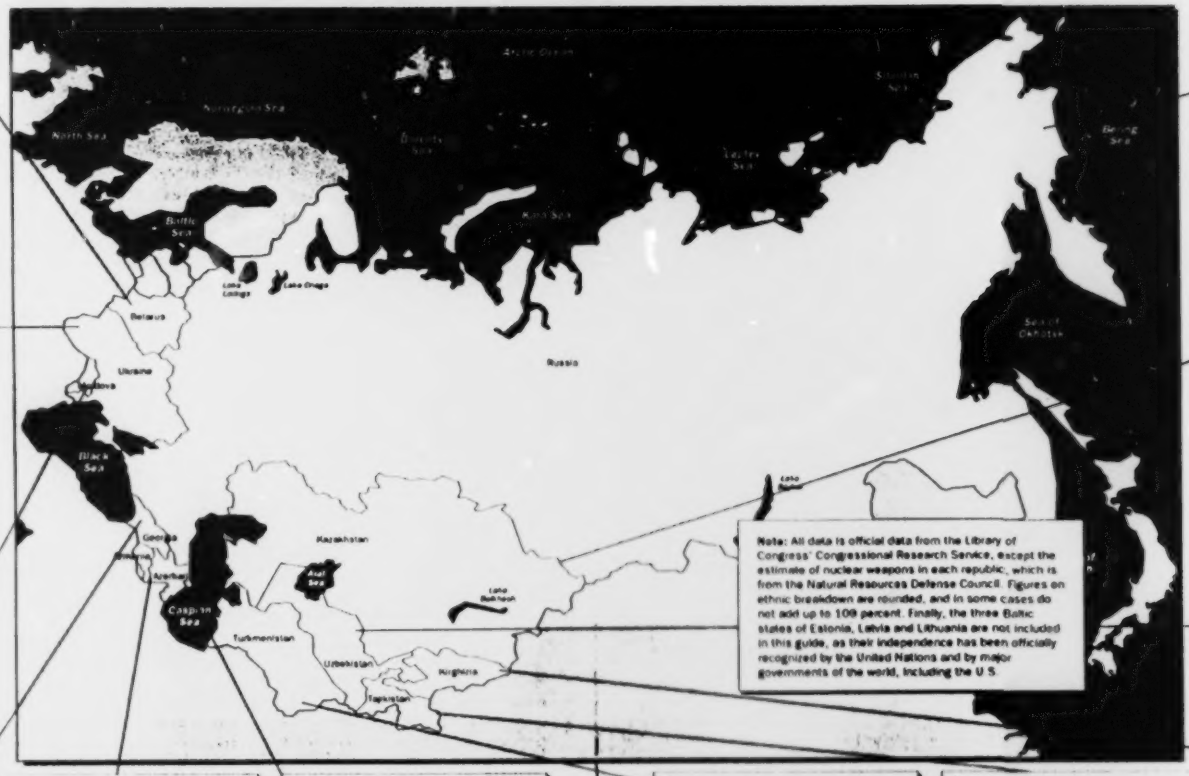
CIS	1-4
Russia	1-30
Armenia	1-7
Azerbaijan	1-5
Belarus	1-6
Georgia	1-9
Kazakhstan	1-5
Kyrgyzstan	1-3
Moldova	1-8
Tajikistan	1-5
Turkmenistan	1-4
Ukraine	1-11
Uzbekistan	1-6
Bibliography for Soviet successor states	

Eastern Europe

Albania	1-9
Bulgaria	1-12
Czech Republic	1-12
Estonia	1-8
Hungary	1-13
Latvia	1-7
Lithuania	1-7
Poland	1-15
Romania	1-14
Slovak Republic	1-11
South Slavs	
Bosnia and Hercogovina	1-6
Croatia	1-5
Macedonia	1-4
Slovenia	1-4
Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro)	1-4
Yugoslavia History	1-4
South Slav Chronology	1-10
Bibliography for Eastern Europe	

Please note that a map preceeds the discussion of each country.

The Commonwealth of Independent States



Note: All data is official data from the Library of Congress' Congressional Research Service, except the estimate of nuclear weapons in each republic, which is from the Natural Resources Defense Council. Figures on ethnic breakdown are rounded, and in some cases do not add up to 100 percent. Finally, the three Baltic states of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania are not included in this guide, as their independence has been officially recognized by the United Nations and by major governments of the world, including the U.S.

Belarus

(formerly Byelorussia, name officially changed to Republic of Belarus on September 19, 1991)

Population	10.2 million (1989 census)
Ethnic Breakdown	7.9 million (78%) Belarusan 1.3 million (13%) Russian 418,000 (4%) Polish 291,000 (3%) Ukrainian 112,000 (1%) Jewish
Leadership	Chairman, Supreme Soviet: Stanislav Shushkevich
Date of Independence	August 25, 1991
Nuclear weapons	1,250 (100 strategic, 1,150 tactical)

Ukraine

Population	51.4 million (1989 census)
Ethnic Breakdown	37.4 million (73%) Ukrainian 11.3 million (22%) Russian 486,000 (1%) Jewish 440,000 (1%) Belarusan
Leadership	President: Leonid Kravchuk
Date of Independence	Declared on August 24, 1991, and ratified by popular vote December 1.
Nuclear weapons	4,000 (1,300 strategic; 2,700 tactical)

Moldova

(formerly Moldavia, name changed to Republic of Moldova on May 23, 1991)

Population	4.3 million (1989 census)
Ethnic Breakdown	2.8 million (65%) Moldovan 600,000 (14%) Ukrainian 562,000 (13%) Russian 153,000 (4%) Gagauzi 88,000 (2%) Bulgarian 66,000 (2%) Jewish
Leadership	President: Mircea Snegur
Date of Independence	August 27, 1991
Nuclear weapons	90 (tactical)

Georgia

(at press time, not a Commonwealth member)

Population	5.4 million (1989 census)
Ethnic Breakdown	3.8 million (69%) Georgian 437,000 (8%) Armenian 341,000 (6%) Azeri 164,000 (3%) South Ossetian 96,000 (2%) Abkhazian
Leadership	at press time, a provisional government (following ouster of President Zviad Gamsakhurdia)
Date of Independence	April 9, 1991
Nuclear weapons	320 (tactical)

Armenia

Population	3.3 million (1989 census)
Ethnic Breakdown	3.1 million (93%) Armenian 85,000 (3%) Azeri 58,000 (2%) Kurdish 52,000 (2%) Russian
Leadership	President: Levon Ter-Petrossyan
Date of Independence	September 23, 1991
Nuclear weapons	200 (tactical)

Azerbaijan

Population	7 million (1989 census)
Ethnic Breakdown	5.8 million (83%) Azeri 392,000 (6%) Russian 391,000 (6%) Armenian 433,000 (6%) other
Leadership	President: Ayaz Mutalibov
Date of Independence	August 30, 1991
Nuclear weapons	300 (tactical)

Turkmenistan

Population	3.5 million (1989 census)
Ethnic Breakdown	2.5 million (72%) Turkmen 334,000 (10%) Russian 317,000 (9%) Uzbek
Leadership	President: Saparmurad Niyazov
Date of Independence	October 27, 1991
Nuclear weapons	125 (tactical)

Tajikistan

Population	5.1 million (1989 census)
Ethnic Breakdown	3.2 million (62%) Tajik 1.2 million (24%) Uzbek 388,000 (7%) Russian 72,000 (1%) Tatar 64,000 (1%) Kirgiz
Leadership	President: Rakhmon Nabiyev
Date of Independence	September 9, 1991
Nuclear weapons	75 (tactical)

Kirgizia Kyrgyzstan

Population	4.3 million (1989 census)
Ethnic Breakdown	2.2 million (52%) Kirghiz 917,000 (22%) Russian 550,000 (13%) Uzbek 108,000 (3%) Ukrainian 101,000 (2%) German
Leadership	President: Askar Akayev
Date of Independence	August 31, 1991
Nuclear weapons	75 (tactical)

Russia

Population	147 million (1989 census)
Ethnic Breakdown	120 million (82%) Russian 5.5 million (4%) Tatar 4.4 million (3%) Ukrainian 1.8 million (1%) Chuvash
Leadership	President: Boris Yeltsin
Date of Independence	Russia had not voted or declared independence prior to announcement of the Commonwealth on December 8, 1991.
Nuclear weapons	19,000 (9,650 strategic, 9,350 tactical)

Kazakhstan

Population	16.5 million (1989 census)
Ethnic Breakdown	6.5 million (40%) Kazakh 6.2 million (38%) Russian 958,000 (6%) German 896,000 (5%) Ukrainian 332,000 (2%) Uzbek 328,000 (2%) Tatar
Leadership	President: Nursultan Nazarbayev
Date of Independence	December 16, 1991
Nuclear weapons	1,800 (1,150 strategic, 650 tactical)

Uzbekistan

Population	19.9 million (1989 census)
Ethnic Breakdown	14.1 million (71%) Uzbek 1.6 million (8%) Russian 934,000 (5%) Tajik 808,000 (4%) Kazakh 468,000 (2%) Tatar 412,000 (2%) Karakalpak
Leadership	President: Islam Karimov
Date of Independence	August 31, 1991
Nuclear weapons	105 (tactical)

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Please note that figures for tactical weapons may have changed as these have been moved since these figures were compiled.

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in two crucial areas. Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk has already said that with the introduction of coupons by the non-Russian republics the ruble zone is in danger of becoming a fiction. True, an agreement has been signed on the control of strategic nuclear weapons, but the dispute over ownership of the Black Sea Fleet indicates that military questions are far from resolved. And the question of the inevitable dominance of the Russian Federation remains as intractable as ever.

Agreement on the Creation of a Commonwealth of Independent States

We, the Republic of Belarus, the Russian Federation (RSFSR), and Ukraine, as founder states of the USSR who signed the Union treaty of 1922, designated below as the High Contracting Parties, state that the USSR as a subject of international law and a geopolitical reality, is ceasing to exist.

Basing ourselves on the historical community of our peoples and the ties that have formed between them, taking into consideration the bilateral treaties concluded between the High Contracting Parties, seeking to build democratic law-based states, intending to develop their relations on the basis of mutual recognition of and respect for state sovereignty, the inalienable right to self-determination, the principles of equality and noninterference in internal affairs, a rejection of the use of force, economic or any other methods of pressure, the settlement of disputes by means of conciliation, and other generally recognized principles and norms of international law, considering that the further development and strengthening of relations of friendship, good-neighborliness and mutually advantageous cooperation between our states answers the fundamental national interests of their peoples and serves the cause of peace and security, confirming their adherence to the goals and principles of the United Nations Charter, the Helsinki Final Act, and other documents of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, pledging to observe the generally recognized international norms on the rights of man and of peoples, have agreed on the following:

Article 1

The High Contracting Parties are forming the Commonwealth of Independent States.

Article 2

The High Contracting Parties guarantee their citizens, regardless of their nationality or other differences, equal rights and freedoms. Each of the High Contracting Parties guarantees the citizens of the other parties, and also stateless persons living on their territory, regardless of their national affiliation or other differences civil, political, social, economic, and cultural rights and freedoms in accordance with the generally recognized international norms of human rights.

Article 3

The High Contracting Parties, wishing to promote the expression, preservation, and development of the ethnic, cultural, linguistic, and religious distinctiveness of the national minorities living on their territory and of the unique ethno-cultural groups that have formed there, take them under their protection.

Article 4

The High Contracting Parties will develop equal and mutually beneficial cooperation between their peoples and states in the spheres of politics, the economy, culture, education, health care, environmental protection, science, trade, and in the humanitarian and other spheres, promote a wide-scale exchange of information, and strictly observe mutual obligations.

The parties consider that it is necessary to conclude agreements on cooperation in these spheres.

Article 5

The High Contracting Parties recognize and respect each other's territorial integrity and the inviolability of existing frontiers within the framework of the commonwealth.

They guarantee the openness of frontiers and freedom of movement of citizens and the transfer of information within the framework of the commonwealth.

Article 6

The member states of the commonwealth will cooperate in ensuring international peace and security and the realization of effective measures to reduce armaments and military expenditures. They will strive for the elimination of all nuclear weapons and for general and complete disarmament under strict international control.

The Parties will respect each other's desire to attain the status of nuclear-free zones and neutral states.

The member states of the commonwealth will preserve and maintain under joint command a common military-strategic space, including single control over nuclear weapons, the manner of implementing which will be regulated by a special agreement.

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They also jointly guarantee the requisite conditions for the stationing, functioning, and material and social well-being of the Strategic Armed Forces. The parties undertake to conduct a coordinated policy as regards the social protection and pension arrangements for military personnel and their families.

Article 7

The High Contracting Parties acknowledge that the sphere of their joint activity, realized on an equal basis through common coordinating institutions, includes:

—coordination of foreign-policy activity;

—cooperation in the formation and development of a common economic space, of all-European and Eurasian markets, and in the sphere of customs policy;

—cooperation in the development of transport and communications systems;

—cooperation in the sphere of environmental protection, participation in the creation of an all-embracing international system of ecological safety;

—questions of migration policy;

—the fight against organized crime.

Article 8

The parties recognize the global nature of the Chernobyl' catastrophe and undertake to unite and coordinate their efforts to minimize and overcome its consequences.

For these purposes they have agreed to conclude special agreements that take account of the seriousness of the consequences of the catastrophe.

Article 9

Disputes regarding the interpretation of the norms of the present agreement are subject to solution by means of talks between the appropriate bodies, and, when necessary, at the level of heads of government and state.

Article 10

Each of the High Contracting Parties reserves the right to suspend the operation of the present agreement or its individual articles having notified the participants in the agreement a year in advance.

The provisions of the present agreement can be supplemented or changed by mutual agreement of the High Contracting Parties.

Article 11

The application of the norms of third states, including those of the former USSR, is not permitted on the territory of the states signing this agreement from the moment of its signing.

Article 12

The High Contracting Parties guarantee the fulfillment of the international obligations ensuing for them from the treaties and agreements of the former USSR.

Article 13

The present agreement does not affect the obligations of the High Contracting Parties as regards third states.

The present agreement is open to accession by all member states of the former USSR, and also by other states sharing the goals and principles of the present agreement.

Article 14

The official residence of the coordinating bodies of the commonwealth is the city of Minsk.

The activity of agencies of the former USSR on the territory of the member states of the commonwealth ceases.

Accomplished in the city of Minsk on 8 December 1991 in three copies, each in Belarussian, Russian, and Ukrainian, the three texts having identical force.

For the Republic of Belarus	S. Shushkevich, V. Kebich
For the RSFSR	B. Yeltsin, G. Burbulis
For Ukraine	L. Kravchuk, V. Fokin

18920057 RIR

7 January 1992

10 January 1992

KEY OFFICIALS IN THE REPUBLICS OF THE CIS AND THE BALTIC STATES

REPUBLIC OF ARMENIA

President	Levon Akopovich Ter-Petrosyan
Vice President	Garik Garushevich Arutyunyan
Supreme Soviet Chairman	Babken Gurgenovich Ararktsyan
Chairman of the Council of Ministers	Garik Garushevich Arutyunyan

REPUBLIC OF AZERBAIJAN

President	Ayaz Niyazi ogly Mutalibov
Supreme Soviet Chairman	El'mira Mikail kyzy Kafarova
Prime Minister	Gasan Aziz ogly Gasanov

REPUBLIC OF BELARUS

Supreme Soviet Chairman	Stanislau Stanislavavich Shushkevich
Chairman of the Council of Ministers	Vyacheslau Frantsavich Kebich

REPUBLIC OF KAZAKHSTAN

President	Nursultan Abishevich Nazarbaev
Vice President	Erik Magzumovich Asanbaev
Supreme Soviet Chairman	Serikbolsyn Abdil'daevich Abdil'din
Prime Minister	Sergei Aleksandrovich Tereshchenko

REPUBLIC OF KYRGYZSTAN

President	Askar Akaev
Vice President	German Serapionovich Kuznetsov
Supreme Soviet Chairman	Medetkan Sherimkulo
Chairman of the Council of Ministers	Andrei Andreevich Iordan (acting)

REPUBLIC OF MOLDOVA

President	Mircea Ion Snegur
Chairman of the Parliament	Alexandru Mosanu
Prime Minister	Valeriu Muravschi

RUSSIAN FEDERATION

President	Boris Nikolaevich Yeltsin
Vice President	Aleksandr Vladimirovich Rutskoi
State Secretary	Gennadii Burbulis
Supreme Soviet Chairman	Ruslan Imranovich Khasbulatov
Chairman of the Government	Boris Nikolaevich Yeltsin
First Deputy Prime Minister	Gennadii Burbulis

REPUBLIC OF TAJIKISTAN

President	Rakhmon Nabiev
Supreme Soviet Chairman	Safarali Kenzhaev
Prime Minister	Akbar Mirzoev

TURKMENISTAN

President	Saparmurad Ataevich Niyazov
Supreme Soviet Chairman	Sakhat Nepesovich Muradov
Head of the Government	Saparmurad Ataevich Niyazov
Deputy Head of the Government	Khan Akhmedov

UKRAINE

President	Leonid Makarovych Kravchuk
Supreme Soviet Chairman	Ivan Stepanovych Plyushch
Chairman of the Cabinet of Ministers	Vitol'd Pavlovych Fokin

REPUBLIC OF UZBEKISTAN

President	Islam (Islom) Abduganievich Karimov
Supreme Soviet Chairman	Shavkat Mukhtdinovich Yuldashev
Prime Minister	Abdulkhashim Mutalov

REPUBLIC OF ESTONIA

Supreme Council Chairman	Arnold Ruutel
Prime Minister	Tiit Vahi

REPUBLIC OF LATVIA

Supreme Council Chairman	Anatolijs Gorbunovs
Chairman of the Council of Ministers	Ivars Godmanis

REPUBLIC OF LITHUANIA

Supreme Council Chairman	Vytautas Landsbergis
Prime Minister	Gediminas Vagnorius

3 February 1992

RUSSIA

Area: 6,592,800 sq. miles (17,075,400 sq. km.)
Population: 149,299,000
Capital: Moscow
Official Language: Russian
Religion: Russian Orthodox

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Cyrillic Alphabet

Russian uses the Cyrillic alphabet (English uses the Latin alphabet). The Cyrillic alphabet, based on Greek script, was created in the ninth century AD in the area of Macedonia. It was named after the ninth century Byzantine missionary Constantine-Cyril, although he actually devised the Glagolitic alphabet based on Greek cursive script by which the Gospels could be transcribed into Slavonic.

Use this modified list to write your name.

Cyrillic letters	Latin transcription	and pronunciation
		CONSONANTS:
Б б	b	as in bat
Ч ч	ch	as in cheese
Д д	d	as in dog
Ф ф	f	as in fan
Г г	g	as in got
Дж	j	as in jam (a combination of Cyrillic consonants is required)
К к	k	as in sky (In Russian, k, p and t are pronounced without the puff of air Americans often use)
Х х	kh	like the ch in German Bach or Scottish loch
Л л	l	as in long
М м	m	as in man
Н н	n	as in not
П п	p	as in span
Р р	r	as in ran, but rolled with tip of tongue
С с	s	as in sun
Ш ш	sh	as in shall
Щ щ	shh	is drawn out like the sh sound in fresh sheets
Т т	t	as in stay
Ц ц	ts	as in mats
В в	v	as in van
Й й	y	as in yes
Ж ж	zh	as in azure
З з	z	as in zoo
		VOWELS:
А а	a	pronounced ah as in calm or uh as in fun
Э э	eh	as in net
- ы	ï	No English equivalent. Something like the i in bit but with the tongue further back.
О о	oh	as in more or awl; not like o as in so. At the beginning of a word it is pronounced ah as in calm and sometimes it sounds like uh as in fun
У у	oo	as in loon, but short
Я я	(y)ah	as in yacht; or (y)ih as in yip
Е е	(y)eh	as in yes; or (y)ih as in yip
И и	(y)ee	as in yeast
Ё ё	(y)oh	as in yore, but short like yawl
Ю ю	(y)oo	as in yule

To write your name in Cyrillic letters, sound it out carefully and write down the corresponding Cyrillic letter for each sound.

Examples: Karen = K eh r eh n = КЭрЭн
Fred = F r eh d = Фрэд
George = J oh r j = Джордж

I. ALPHABET AND LANGUAGE

Russian is an East Slavic language belonging to the Indo-European language family. Russian dialects are divided into the Northern group (encompassing St. Petersburg and all of Siberia), the Southern group (central and southern Russia), and the Central group (primarily the area around Moscow). Modern literary Russian is based on the dialect of Moscow.

Russian and other East Slavic languages (Ukrainian and Belorussian) did not diverge until the late 13th century. The term Old Russian is applied to the East Slavic language in use before that time. Russian has been strongly influenced by Church Slavonic and by languages of Western Europe, from which it has borrowed many words. The modern language uses six case forms (nominative, accusative, genitive, instrumental, locative, and dative). The written language utilizes the cyrillic alphabet.

II. GEOGRAPHY

Almost twice the size of either the United States or China, Russia is the second largest country in the world. Its territory extends halfway around the northern hemisphere and covers much of eastern and northeastern Europe and all of northern Asia. Russia's maritime border, longer than the equator, meets the Pacific Ocean in the east and the Arctic Ocean in the north. Russia borders Norway and Finland on the north; Poland, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, and Belarus on the northwest; Ukraine, Georgia, Azerbaijan, and Kazakhstan on the south; and China, Mongolia, and North Korea on the southeast.

A variety of landforms and environments form great bands across the territory of Russia. To the north lies an expanse of Arctic desert which gradually gives way to the frozen tundra. Below the tundra lies the taiga, a great forest region that covers two-thirds of the territory of Russia. To the south, the Russian steppe, a grassy plain-like area with fertile and rich soil stretches across Russia. In the far south, beyond belts of open steppes, are subtropical and semi-desert areas.

There are about 100,000 rivers in Russia more than six miles long. In Siberia three of the worlds longest rivers, the Ob, the Lena, and the Yenisey, flow north into the Arctic Ocean. The Amur River flows into the Pacific Ocean. The waters of the Neva, Dneper, and the Don eventually reach the Atlantic Ocean by way of the Baltic and Black Seas. The Volga and the Ural Rivers flow into the Caspian Sea. There are about 200,000 lakes in Russia, the most famous of which is Lake Baikal in Central Siberia, the world's deepest, most voluminous lakes.

The territory of Russia can be divided into several physical regions. The Kola-Karelian region, in the northwest of European Russia, is a plateau, formed by glaciers, and marked by ridges and dotted with many lakes. The Russian Plain, on which Moscow is situated, extends east from the Ural mountains and from the Arctic to the Caspian Sea. The Caucasus is a mountainous region extending from the Caspian to the Black Sea. The Ural Mountain Region runs south to north

about 1,300 miles and extend an additional 600 miles into the Arctic Ocean by Novaya Zemlya, a group of islands in the Arctic Ocean. Siberia, covering a quarter of the Asian continent with a total area of approximately 5,200,000 sq miles, is a vast region situated between the Ural Mountains and the Pacific Ocean. The Far East stretches along the Pacific Ocean from the Chukchi Peninsula to the north to Vladivostok in the south.

Most of the population of Russia is settled in a great triangle in the western, or European, portion of Russia. Russia is home to approximately 60 different nationalities. The population is 82% Russian, 4% Tatar, 3% Ukrainian, 1% Chuvash. Other minorities include Bashkirs, Mordvins, Dagestanis, Belorussians, Jews, Germans, Udmurts, Chechens, Kazakhs, and Cheremis, many of which occupy designated ethnic regions within Russia.

The position of Russia relative to the US helps in understanding problems in agriculture, transportation, and exploitation of natural resources. Leningrad is on the same latitude as Anchorage, Alaska. Moscow is on the same latitude as the far north reaches of Ontario Province on the Hudson Bay--farther north even than the southern tip of Alaska. Due to the far northern location, significant portions of Russia experience the summer phenomenon known as "white nights" in which the sun does not set (and its winter counterpart of extended darkness).

There are large expanses of land unsuitable for agricultural cultivation. The country ranges from desert to forest, steppes to swamp, mountains to tundra. There is a short growing season for a large part of the country. Areas with warmth often lack water, and areas with water may lack warmth.

Much of the country's water comes from snow. Most of the rivers of Siberia run north to the Arctic Sea, as a result, their economic utility is limited. In addition, overuse and wasteful exploitation of water from rivers for irrigation purposes has led not only to a drying up of some of the rivers and the inland sea which they supply, but combined with the overuse of chemical fertilizers and pesticides has led to environmental damage to farming regions as well.

Natural resources are for the most part abundant, but most of the remaining resources are located under swamps and in permafrost areas, so extraction is difficult and expensive. Significant environmental damage occurred and much resources were wasted as a result of unsound and inefficient extraction and processing techniques.

III. HISTORY

It would be presumptuous to try to present an adequate coverage of the rich history of Russia in this framework. This has been done quite successfully in various works, some of which are referred to in the bibliography of the Resource Guide. For a brief overview of some of the important dates and events in Russian history, please refer to the Chronology, section VII of this chapter.

IV. GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS

The Initial Character of the Bolshevik Party. The current changes in the Soviet political system and in the powers of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) have their roots in the Soviet past. While typically characterized in its early development as a tightly knit conspiratorial organization, the Bolshevik Party, the predecessor the CPSU, was relatively open and tolerant in character and had significant mass appeal on the eve of the October 1917 Revolution. While Lenin had called importantly for discipline and organizational cohesiveness, and the party was governed by the principle of democratic centralism which required minority factions to submit to the will of the majority, open debate of issues and policies was tolerated and there was significant diversity of opinion among the party leadership over questions of strategy. The party was a political institution in which the tools of persuasion and not coercion were employed to sway members to programs advocated by the party leadership. In such an environment debate and discussion were the procedural norm, and Lenin himself, despite the strength of his personality and his political genius, was forced to concede issues to other party leaders at one time or another. During the Civil War (1918-21), which followed the October Revolution of 1917 and the Bolshevik proroguing of the Constituent Assembly in January 1918, the character of the party, however, began to change.

The Civil War Party. The Civil War and the struggle for the very survival of the fledgling regime profoundly changed the membership and character of the Bolshevik Party. While some scholars have explained the character of the subsequent party in terms of authoritarian ideological roots, which Lenin developed and encouraged, the exigencies of the Civil War were in many ways more decisive in shaping the party and the nature of the Bolshevik regime. In addition to the tremendous social dislocation caused by the Civil War and the disintegration of whole social classes, including to a large extent the Tsarist professional intelligentsia, the Civil War also severely eroded the lower ranks of the party, which was mobilized into Red Army units battling the numerous and diverse White forces. This erosion and the necessity of maintaining control over the party's lower ranks undermined the mass character of the party, and the previously popularly elected lower organs, such as Soviets and factory committees were subordinated to the increasingly stringent emergency requirements of the center.

The political and economic policies of War Communism to a large extent were an outgrowth of this struggle for survival and an attempt by the party leadership to secure vital control over both food supplies and low level organizations necessary to successfully achieve victory in the Civil War. War Communism included
such draconian policies as the forced requisitioning of peasants' grain and livestock, and the persecution, and wholesale annihilation of certain political opposition groups. The victory of the Red forces in the Civil War and the February 1921 Kronstadt revolt of sailors who previously had been considered among the young regime's most loyal supporters, however, shook the party. This manifest social discontent and the tremendous economic devastation of the Civil War, precipitated the party's pursuit of a new political course in the following years. During the Civil War, however, the party was instilled with a military ethos or war mentality, which would rise to the surface and be harnessed by Stalin in the years of Stalin's second revolution.

The Party under the New Economic Policy. The New Economic Policy (NEP) was an attempt by the party to reconstruct a war devastated economy, address the social discontent which arose in part from the party's draconian political policies, and normalize Party procedures which had been completely disrupted during the war. The economic opening of NEP, which combined elements of a market economy with an administrative command system, was accompanied by a political tightening. With his "Decree on Factions" Lenin sought to galvanize and cement a party, which had become an inchoate, discordant mass and fractured conglomerate. To regain control, Lenin thus strove to reimpose democratic centralist principles on the party, which had grown so large and unwieldy, and been saturated with new members during a period when its popular support was lowest. The fact that open splits within the party were officially discouraged, however, did not hide the fact that profound disagreements existed between individual party leaders, most notably between those on the Left associated with Trotsky, and those on the Right associated initially with Stalin, Zinoviev, and Kamenev, but later also Bukharin as well. The composition and character of the party changed further under NEP.

After Lenin's death in 1923, Stalin used his control over the party Secretariat, the party's administrative bureaucracy in charge of personnel, to flood the party with supporters, mostly workers loyal to him. Initially allying himself with Zinoviev and Kamenev, Stalin exploited fears held by many party members of Trotsky as a potential dictator, and moved to have him expelled from the party. Stalin then outmaneuvered Zinoviev and Kamenev and allied with Bukharin once Trotsky had been destroyed. The destruction of Bukharin and rupture of NEP with the onset of the 1927-8 grain procurements crisis which threatened the very survival of the regime, marked the beginning of the Stalin Revolution and a further transformation of the party.

The Stalin Revolution. The significance of the Stalin Revolution for subsequent events that took place in the Soviet Union cannot be overstated. Stalin's policies of forced-collectivization, rapid state-sponsored industrialization, administrative hyper-centralization, cultural revolution and political terror combined to produce the institutional structure of the Soviet Union until its demise. With forced collectivization, Stalin sought to secure vitally needed grain for his forced industrialization drive. Collectivization virtually destroyed the traditional structure of peasant agriculture and broke the peasantry as an opposition force to Stalin's policies. With forced state-sponsored industrialization, the party administration hypertrophied as it took on ever increasing duties associated with managing a centrally planned economy. Hyper-centralization of the administrative apparatus was encouraged to enhance Stalin's personal control over the party bureaucracy.

The institutionalization of competing bureaucratic structures within the party and government, and the routine use of terror as a method of rule further, atomized the party and prevented the state bureaucracy from developing a corporate identity to check Stalin's powers. The doctrine of class war against ideologically impure and hostile elements served as both a tool to destroy potential opposition and a vehicle for social mobility as purged victims were replaced by politically loyal individuals who owed their livelihood directly to Stalin. The purges further worked to destroy the party as a political organization, depoliticizing it and ostracizing it to the realm of an administrative bureaucracy. The development in this period of the party into a

mono-corporate body which assumed sole managerial responsibility for Stalin's decisions pertaining to politics, economics, society, and culture, was one of the historical legacies of this period. The party's social composition during the Second Revolution thus was transformed from one which at one time was composed mostly of intellectuals and old Bolsheviks into one dominated by *praktiki*, militantly nationalist urban workers who received hasty educations, gained most of their managerial experience on the job, and were fiercely loyal to the regime personified by Stalin.

World War II and Postwar Stalinism. World War II was the most decisive challenge the party confronted yet. With the successful Soviet victory over Nazi Germany, Stalin's oppressive policies of the 1930s were to an extent vindicated and the party's and Stalin's prestige and legitimacy were significantly enhanced. But popular expectations for liberalization and more consumer oriented economic policies in the post-war period largely went unanswered. The post-war period was one of profound conservatism in which Stalin emphasized the continued need for further popular sacrifices to maintain the Soviet Union's newly acquired stature as a world superpower. The party was further depoliticized in this period and relegated to purely administrative functions. And the cult of personality flourished as Stalin was praised as the great leader and father of the Soviet people and brilliant military strategist who led the Soviet armies to victory in World War II. The party itself received a substantial influx of white collar professionals, who occupied mid- and low-level position, but maintained its urban working class base and mentality. The death of Stalin in 1953 marked the end of an era and of the life of an individual who contributed more singly to the development of the Soviet Union than did any other Soviet leader including Lenin.

Khrushchev and De-Stalinization. The role of Nikita Khrushchev in de-Stalinizing Soviet society in the latter 1950s and early 1960s is paramount for understanding the policies of Mikhail Gorbachev approximately thirty years later. Khrushchev represented a broad consensus among the leadership, that the party as an institution should be restored, its procedures routinized, and the terror ended. Khrushchev's de-Stalinization campaign launched at the XX Party Congress in 1956, initially was an attempt to highlight the Stalin's abuses without undermining the preeminence of the Party in the process. Khrushchev attacked Stalin for terrorizing the party with continual purges of the apparatus, and he criticized Stalin for fostering a cult of personality at the expense of the prestige of the party. Khrushchev confined his attack to the post 1934 Stalin, however, and avoided criticizing Stalin's policies of forced collectivization and industrialization, thus giving sanction to them. But in a move to circumvent the power of entrenched Stalinists within the bureaucracy, Khrushchev promoted the influx of new members, the generation to which Gorbachev himself belongs.

At the XXII Party Congress in 1961 Khrushchev's de-Stalinization campaign went further, and he named specific leaders whom he accused of complicity in Stalin's crimes. Thousands of victims of Stalin's repression were released from prison camps and rehabilitated, confronting their persecutors and revealing further the horrors and extent of Stalin's crimes. From largely populist and egalitarian intentions Khrushchev further strove to undermine the system of party privilege and he elicited the cooperation of professional experts in the management of the

economy. He pushed further for dramatic administrative reorganizations to shakeup the party bureaucracy and bypass the entrenched inertia of functionaries in the Soviet Union's bloated economic ministries. He also advocated consumer oriented economic policies and sought to reduce the defense budget, which he perceived as siphoning off valuable assets from the domestic economy. But his policies of de-Stalinization, administrative reorganization, "trust in experts" versus uneducated party cadres and consumerism, alienated key interest groups within the party, military, and Committee for State Security (KGB) who colluded to depose him in 1964.

Brezhnev's Conservatism and the doctrine of "Trust in Cadres." Perhaps no period in the history of the Soviet Union was marked by such fundamental conservatism as the Brezhnev period. Brezhnev rose to power as the result of the consensus of key interest groups within the party, military, and KGB. While Brezhnev's tenure was marked by an end to de-Stalinization, it did not witness a re-Stalinization, and thus cannot be characterized as reactionary. In terms of style, Brezhnev was a consensus maker, and within the party leadership he was the first among equals. He sought to end the erosion of prestige that the party had suffered under Khrushchev and he worked to stabilize the administrative apparatus by limiting personnel turnover. His doctrine of "Trust in Cadres" was an attempt to preserve the privileged position of the Communist party while eliciting the professional expertise of key elements in Soviet society. Limits were placed on both popular discussion and on the participation Soviet society was allowed contribute to the political process, and dissent which surpassed these boundaries was severely punished. The economic expansion and attainment of strategic parity achieved by the Soviet Union in the first decade of Brezhnev's rule cemented the alliance of interest groups Brezhnev managed and limited within reasonable bounds popular dissent which brewed beneath the surface of the Soviet political system.

Brezhnev's Legacy. Despite the significant achievements of the Brezhnev period and the tremendous political stability of the Soviet Union during his tenure, the legacy of Brezhnev has been viewed in recent times with increasing criticism by scholars from both the Soviet Union and the West. While economic growth expanded significantly in the first decade of Brezhnev's Premiership, fueled by the extensive exploitation of the Soviet Union's vast natural resources, in the second decade as exploitation required more intensive efforts, economic growth began to taper off and declined to almost zero in the early 1980s. The inefficiencies of the administrative command economy as well dampened growth and the technological backwardness of the Soviet economy relative to the West also was a problem, threatening the Soviet Union's strategic international position. Rising education level meanwhile and the overabundance of highly skilled professionals and workers also plagued the party leadership. Opportunity began to lag increasingly behind expectations, which were being fueled in the information age by an awareness of improved conditions abroad. Rising infant mortality rates, demographic decline and extensive environmental pollution pointed out the low standard of health of Soviet citizens relative to Western populations. Most importantly, the almost nonexistent turnover in personnel that occurred at the highest levels of the party under Brezhnev frustrated younger party officials who had been promoted under Khrushchev and who sought access to higher positions. The collusion of so many problems and the generational turnover which occurred after the death of

Brezhnev in 1982 paved the way for the Gorbachev generation, the "offspring of Khrushchev" to come to power and harness popular discontent for change.

Gorbachev, Glasnost' and Perestroika. The coming to power of Mikhail Sergeevich Gorbachev marked the beginning of a profound period of change in the Soviet Union. Responding to the need to pull the Soviet Union out of its economic, political, and social crisis, Gorbachev inaugurated a series of measures designed to renovate the Soviet system. The first of Gorbachev's policies, that of glasnost' has its roots in Khrushchev's reforms and has involved the opening up of the political system to expand the participation of previously excluded social groups. Gorbachev sought to spur popular discussion of issues, and to harness momentum for change, which was so limited in the Brezhnevian period, commonly referred to in the Soviet Union today as the period of"stagnation" (*zastoi*). Gorbachev's policies of perestroika were directed towards restructuring or renovating the faltering Soviet economy.

Politically, Gorbachev sought to overcome the stultifying generational continuity under Brezhnev by democratizing the party and governmental apparatuses. Through the vehicle of quasi-democratic elections to the newly created institution of the Congress of People's Deputies, Gorbachev worked to bring new constituencies into the governing system and to pressure from below the Soviet Union's bloated and conservative administrative bureaucracies. In addition, with the policy of *zakonnost'*, Gorbachev worked to institutionalize legality in party procedures and in the broader functioning of Soviet society as a whole, advocating socialism with a human face. In essence, Gorbachev's reforms were marked by a pronounced "New Thinking," characterized by some as a fundamental de-Stalinization of the Soviet system and process.

The Death of the Party. Despite, or perhaps it would be better to say, because of Gorbachev's reforms, the party was in a state of crisis in the late 1980s and early 1990s. A fitting analogy for its hold on Soviet society in this period might describe a dying barnacle, almost a hollow shell, battered by surf but left clinging to a reef. The party experienced a precipitous decline in its power. In June 1990, Article Six of the Soviet Constitution, which guaranteed the CPSU primacy in matters of politics, economics, society, and culture was repealed. Official opposition parties formed and were soon allowed to compete with the CPSU in quasi-democratic local and national elections. An opinion poll taken in October 1990 revealed that support for the party had declined to a meager 14% of the population. The party's loss of prestige further was reflected in its membership statistics. In the first seven months of 1990 alone the party suffered a withering of its ranks and lost over a half million members. It also witnessed a commensurate dwindling of its financial resources and was forced to curtail severely its operations.

Faced with the near disintegration of the Soviet Union, Gorbachev called for the reimposition of press restrictions in January 1991, which had been lifted under his policy of *glasnost'*. One issue which had surfaced as a result of Gorbachev's reforms and his retrenchment was whether the party would be resurrected from its crisis and rebuild a constituency. In a last ditch effort to salvage its last remnants of power, a group of hard-line communists staged an ill-fated coup attempt, August 19, 1991, holding Gorbachev captive in his Crimean dacha. The group, calling

itself the State Committee for the State of Emergency, failed to garner the support of the military. On August 21 the coup collapsed amid tremendous popular resistance led by Russian President. Although the risk of wide spread violence was present during the days of the coup, there were only three deaths reported as a result of hostilities between pro and anti coup forces. This issue of a communist resurgence is still under discussion today in light of the current crisis in Russia. However, the prevailing picture of the party is one of an organization severely discredited politically and financially and morally bankrupt.

The Current Governmental Structure in Russia. Although the communist party is no longer a force in Russian politics, structurally, the government of the Russian Federation remains similar to that of the former RSFSR. The legislative branch of the Russian Federation is made up of two legislative bodies: the 1,068 member Congress of People's Deptuties (CPD) and the smaller standing body, the Supreme Soviet or Russian Parliament; the Supreme Soviet is elected from the members of the CPD. The CPD is popularly elected and is the highest governing organ in the country--it can over rule any order by the president and ammend the constitution by a two thirds majority vote. The Executive Presidency, to which Boris Yeltsin was popularly elected in May 1990, is the highest office in the "executive" branch of the Russian government. The President is advised by a council of Deputy Prime Ministers (currently headed by Prime Minister, Viktor Chernomyrdin). The Russian Constitutional Court (headed by Valerii Zorkin) is the highest judicial body in the Russian Federation. One of the functions of the Constitutional Court in the fledgling government of Russia is to examine compliance of a decrees and laws with the Russian Constitution.

Regional Separatism. Among the numerous political problems facing Russia in the post-Soviet period is regional separatism. Russia is divided into several types of territorial units including autonomous republics, *oblasts*, *raions*, and *krais*. Many of these territories were formed along ethnic lines containing large numbers of national minorities; others are almost exclusively dominated by ethnic Russians. In the fight over political power, many of not most of these territories have pressed for greater autonomy from the federal government. The movement towards separatism has been taken to its greatest extreme by two southern autonomous republics dominated by ethnic minorities in the south, Tatarstan and Chechen-Ingushetia. On 21 March 1992 the majority of Tatarstan's population (48% Tatar, 43% Russian) voted in favor of a referendum to make the republic independent--67% for, 31% against. Tatarstan's president, Montimer Shamiev, claims the republic in not seeking to secede but is seeking greater sovereignty from the federal government than is currently provided. Russia's constitutional court has ruled Tatarstan's action "unconstitutional" but so far no hostilities have arisen over the issue. Tatarstan's push for independence is significant because it sets a precedent for increased separatism by other republics and because Tatarstan has significant economic value to the Russian Federation; 26% of Russia's oil is produced in the republic.

1992 was a tumultuous year for Russian politics in almost every respect. Armed conflicts within Russia and in the former Soviet republics have drawn Russian military intervention in Chechen-Ingushetiia, North Ossetia, Georgia, Moldova, Tajikistan and the war between Armenia and Azerbaijan. There have also been numerous disputes with other republics over the disposition

of Russian and former Soviet forces in the Baltics and Ukraine. (For more details of these conflicts see under the individual country headings). Russia has continued to extend cooperation in its dealings with the West. This is evidenced by the rapid signing and ratification of the START treaty with the US. Russia has, however, failed to settle a dispute with Japan over four islands (the Kuriles) which the Soviet Union seized and has occupied since the end of World War II. Japan has made direct aid to Russia conditional upon the return of the islands but nationalists have been unwilling to relinquish any Russian soil.

Internal politics have centered around two main issues: a dispute over economic reforms and the dividsion of powers between Russia's legislative branch (the Supreme Soviet and the Congress of People's Deputies) and the executive (President Boris Yeltsin's government). Immediately following the 1991 August coup, Yeltsin had the opportunity to call elections for a new parliament and push through a program of rapid reforms. Instead, reforms got off to a slow start and conservative forces have had the chance to consolidate against them. The most prominent opposition group is called Civic Union; it is headed by Arkadii Volsky and was formed in May of 1992. The group unites the interests of the managers and workers of Russia's large enterprises, largely in the military industrial complex, against Yeltsin's reform program which they see as a threat to both their own and the country's interests. The group has successfully gained numerous concessions from Yeltin's government. The most prominent of these was the ouster of Yeltsin's Prime Minister Yegor Gaidar, who was replaced by Viktor Chernomyrdin--former oil and gas minister and acknowleged as a representative of big industry interests--in December.

The legislative branch, headed by Ruslan Khasbulatov, has worked steadily to erode the power of the president so that it may have more influence over the rule of the country. In a contest with the Supreme Soviet, Yeltsin has lost several key battles. Aside from having to sacrifice his prime minister, as well as some deputy prime ministers, Yeltsin lost his bid to extend his right to rule by decree, an arrangement which until December allowed the president to issue laws without the approval of the legislature. At the time the *Teacher's Guide* was being prepared, Yeltsin and the parliament were in the midst of the most critical battle over division of powers so far. In an attempt to settle the dispute, a referendum will be held on April 25 asking the people four questions: if they have confidence in president Yeltsin; if they approve of the social and economic policies conducted by the president and the government; if they consider it necessary to hold early elections for the president; if they consider it necessary to hold early elections for the congress.

V. ECONOMY

As it was...the centrally planned economy. After the Bolshevik revolution in 1917, the leaders of the Soviet Union had to create a new economic system that would help usher in communism. Karl Marx had written many books criticizing capitalism but gave almost no guidance on what a socialist economic system would look like. Lenin and Stalin in the 1920s developed the system of central planning to coordinate and control production of goods after the means of production (factories, equipment, materials) were nationalized in 1918. In theory, central planning of all

economic activity and decisions was to avoid the problems of capitalism, or market failures such as unemployment, unequal income distribution, and the chaos of the market. In reality, the system of central planning resulted in tremendous economic growth at the expense of the consumers' satisfaction.

The central plan emphasized investment in heavy industry (steel, cement, machine-tools) and the military at the expense of consumer goods. This emphasis on industry led to the rapid transformation of the USSR from a primarily agricultural to an advanced industrial economy. The strategy was to develop these industries first, so that consumer goods would be produced from the infrastructure that was developed. However, for the most part, heavy industry produced goods in order to develop more heavy industry; i.e., steel factories made steel which was used to make the factories and machines which would make more steel factories, not automobiles and refrigerators. The USSR experienced tremendous economic growth until the 1960s as a result of this policy. The Soviet economy achieved growth through the use of more natural resources and greater participation of labor. The brutal collectivization of agriculture resulted in a large urban migration and redistribution of the work force, which included women, into industry.

The 5 and 20 Year Plans set specific *goals* that affected every Soviet citizen. The plans determined what to produce, what quantities to make, what prices to charge, and where it goes. This proved to be a cumbersome process that responded poorly to changes in demand. Coordinating production and distribution activities often required more information than available to the central planners. As a result, there were continual problems in distribution, shortages, and enormous waste of labor and material inputs.

Centrally determined *prices* were a fundamental feature of centrally planned economies. The pricing system were generally responsible for the shortage of consumer goods. Prices bore little relation to the scarcity and demand for the good. Low prices were set for food and other basic necessities, while high prices were set for those items considered to be luxuries. As a result, long lines for scarce goods were common. Hoarding of sale items also occured. An illegal black market developed because of excess demand. High hidden inflation occured as a result of the huge monetary overhang in the economy (workers are paid money, but there are very few things to buy).

The third way...the reform plan under Gorbachev. Although many reforms had been made to decentralize the economic mechanisms to the enterprise level, the central plans and the pricing system continued to be decided by the authorities in Moscow. One of the reform efforts launched by Gorbachev was the leasing of state-owned enterprises to workers and managers. However, even the most innovative of enterprise operators were quickly squeezed out of business in the bureaucratically run monopoly environment of the centrally planned economy. It was soon discovered that significant reform could not be accomplished until the central planners gave up their control over these key areas. One of the key issues in the republics' demands for sovereignty was that of local control over the economy in terms of trade, production, and distribution. This is one of the major factors which led to the breakup of the Soviet Union. Fear of renewed economic dominance by Russia now hinders economic cooperation between the

former Soviet Republics.

Transformation to the market. There is general consensus among Western economists and reform-minded Russian economists as to the structural changes needed to move to a free-market economy. Planning must be abolished and marketization must take place in enterprise interactions. There must be a shift from hierarchical communications between planner and enterprise manager to autonomous and market-determined relations between enterprises. Privatization is necessary to transfer control of enterprises to those who will act as owners and be profit-maximizing, entrepreneurial competitors. A new banking structure is needed. The centrally planned economy lacked commercial banks which acted like responsible lenders applying constraints on inefficient enterprises. A modern fiscal (tax) system must be developed to support the government budget, or public sector functions of a market economy. The economy must be opened to the world market to impose the discipline of the world market on the domestic economy, to capture gains from trade, and to make foreign investment possible. Changes in economic priorities must be implemented: reorientation from investment to consumption, from military to civilian expenditure, and from internationally noncompetitive to competitive product lines. Finally, a system of social protection must be created to shield those (the unemployed, pensioners and the disabled) who will be especially hard hit by economic transformation.

The extreme difficulty of the reform process lies in the implementation of the structural changes mentioned above. For example, the institutions which implement fiscal and monetary institutions in western market economies have evolved over a period of many years. It will be impossible to develop such organizations overnight in Russia. In privatizing former state-owned enterprises, they must first be valuated before they are transferred to a new owner. How does one valuate an enterprise that has never before operated in a market environment and whose output has never before been subjected to the world market test? Is it fair to subject such goods to competition from foreign goods? When is the right time to open the economy to the world market? As yet there is much disagreement and debate over the method, the speed and the sequence that reformers should take in implementing the structural changes necessary to move toward the market.

The Progress of Russia's Economic Reforms. Since the August 1991 coup the Russian government has attempted to devise and implement an economic reform program to expediently make the transition to a market economy. Design of the reform plans has been under the near exclusive dominion of Yeltsin's government headed until December 1992 by Yegor Gaidar. The reform team consisted of a small group of young economists--Gaidar himself is in his thirties--well versed in capitalist economic theories and principles. The program has two main goals: stabilization and liberalization. Towards stabilization the government drew up a balanced budget. This was accomplished by cutting expenditures on defense and institution of a new value added tax. Under liberalization, prices for virtually all retail and wholesale goods, with the exception of a few key commodities and consumer staples, were freed. Foreign trade has been liberalized especially with respect to imports. Exports have been liberalized, but many controls have been placed on key commodities to prevent the depletion of stocks for domestic industries. In many

respects the ruble has been made convertible; its rate is set on open foreign currency exchanges. Also under liberalization, Russia has undertaken a very ambitious program to privatize large and small state owned enterprises. Housing and collective farms are slated to be privatized but legislation has not progressed as quickly.

The reform program has met with serious challenges and crises during 1992. The most serious crisis has been the onset of near hyper-inflation. A jump in prices occured after they were liberalized in January, but as predicted stabilized somewhat by mid year. Since the Fall, however, prices have gone out of control. There are many contributing factors to inflation, but the ultimate reason has been the central bank's inability to control the money supply. Huge amounts of rubles have been printed to continue subsidies to large state enterprises to keep them open and to index their workers' salaries to inflation. Other problems include a severe drop in production which is estimated at 30% compared to the previous year. The ruble's value on foreign exchange markets has plummeted and foreign debt has grown. Although a small group of enterprising entrepreneurs have benefitted during the year, the great majority have experienced a severe decline in the standard of living. Hardest hit have been those on fixed incomes, such as pensioners and students, and those who work outside industry, including doctors and teachers. There have been some measures to compensate the population. For example, every Russian citizen has received a free privatization voucher worth 10,000 rubles which can be exchanged for shares in state property or simply sold for cash. Such measures, however, are little more than symbolic in the face of hyper-inflation.

Lifestyle: Marriage, Children, and the Home. Husbands and wives both hold jobs but it is the women who are responsible for maintaining the home and for virtually all cooking and child care. Men help with the shopping, which is no mean feat as one generally must go to a different store for each type of product (bread, vegetables, meat, dairy products). Each family typically has one child. Small families are the result of spatial, financial, and time constraints. The extended families usually live in a two or three room apartment (not 2-3 bedrooms, but 2-3 rooms). Recent economic dislocation has had a negative impact on family life. Abortion is seen as the only reliable means of birth control. Some women have more than five abortions in their lifetimes and most have had at least one.

The divorce rate is almost as high as in the US. One in three marriages ends in divorce. Child custody is generally awarded to the mother. Due to the housing crunch in cities, it is not uncommon for couples to continue living together in the same apartment after divorce.

VI. RELIGION

The Russian Orthodox Church is by far the most popular Christian religion in Russia. The "Old Believers," those who separated from the Russian Orthodox Church in the mid-seventeenth century, adhere to the practices of the church before the reforms of Patriarch Nikon. Other Christian religions active in Russia include Roman Catholics, Lutherans, Evangelical Christians and Baptists. Jews are recognized as a distinct nationality and have been subject to persecution.

According to Russian chronicles, 10th century ruler Prince Vladimir was a pagan as were his subjects. In 987, however, legend has it that he sent Russian envoys abroad to Christian, Jewish, and Islamic regions to find out about these faiths. The envoys were most impressed with the splendor of the churches in Constantinople. Considering this impression as well as the political advantage to be gained by Vladimir in a marriage to the Byzantine emperor's sister, the prince accepted Orthodox Christianity for Russia in 988.

In 1666 a schism occurred in the Russian Orthodox Church. Mistakes in translations of religious texts from the Greek were noticed and the Russians had made innovations in religious rituals since 988. Patriarch Nikon declared the necessity of returning the church to Greek traditions. The Old Believers, or Old Ritualists, rejected these changes and split off from the church's main body. Old Believers were persecuted in subsequent centuries by the tsarist state and church and often went as far as to immolate themselves en masse. The Old Belief still exists today, especially in the countryside.

After the 1917 Revolution, as the government hardened its stance against elements of tsarist society and those who they believed hindered the development of a more progressive society, the church was forced to go underground. Later, during World War II, in a general return to ideas of Russian nationalism, Stalin called on the church to help support the Soviet government, and as a result the Orthodox Church was somewhat strengthened. Khrushchev renewed the antireligious campaign from 1958-64. More than half of the churches that remained from earlier persecutions were closed, the number of seminaries was reduced from eight to three, and the number of monasteries was reduced from sixty-nine to less than fifteen. Since the time of the revolution, thousands of churches in Moscow alone were destroyed, and today only about four hundred exist.

Although the official government policy (as guaranteed in the constitution) on religion was one of neutrality and separation from state affairs, the official stand of the communist party was to promote atheism. Before Gorbachev came to power, it was difficult to be open about religion in most parts of the country. The churches, temples, and mosques that were open were often in disrepair and were frequently difficult to reach. Many structures were turned into museums and even warehouses, making them unavailable for religious use. This is changed, and the communist government came to tolerate religion to a greater extent than it ever had before, and churches have been converted back from museums into working churches. Since the 1988 Millennium Anniversary of Christianity in Russia there has been tremendous improvement in state-church relations. Gorbachev met with Russian Orthodox Patriarch Pimen in that year and promised freedom of conscience henceforth. Since then scientific atheistic propaganda decreased significantly.

Bibles can be imported or printed in the CIS, church bells may ring, and religious organizations may carry out charitable work. Religious ceremonies have been broadcast on television and the Orthodox Patriarch is gaining power and significance. One of the biggest changes is that clergymen are running for and getting elected to local government posts.

There is no longer a reason to fear being openly religious, but most of those who attend services in the CIS continue to be women, and most are older. Recent studies reveal, however, that over 90 million of CIS citizens consider themselves religious and 50 million of those are adherents of the Russian Orthodox Church. In many republics, religion goes hand in hand with nationalist resurgence. New churches are being built by volunteers. The 1990 Law on Freedom of Conscience formally restored property rights, religious education rights, and permission to perform charitable work to all faiths in the CIS. Unfortunately, however, new opportunities and freedoms have also caused problems in institutionalized religions such as a shortage of money and trained clergy and the emergence of sectarian conflicts. For instance, fierce property disputes are now being waged between the Moscow patriarch and Catholics over church buildings.

Religion is also an element of the national identity of the peoples of the CIS. The Russian Orthodox Church is by far the most prevalent Christian religion. Ukrainian, Belorussian, Georgian, and Romanian (Moldavian) Orthodox Churches are the major religions in these republics. There was a strong underground Uniate movement in the USSR. These Eastern Rite Catholics previously were forcibly incorporated into the Orthodox Churches to prevent them from becoming focal points for anti-Soviet nationalism, particularly in Ukraine. In Ukraine the Uniate Church has successfully campaigned for independence from the Russian Orthodox Church. The Uniate Church is taking over Russian Orthodox Churches in the region, acts which Orthodox officials are denouncing as illegal. Other Christian religions active in CIS include Roman Catholics, and the Armenian Apostolic Church. There are significant numbers of Evangelical Christians and Baptists.

Anti-Semitism is widespread in the CIS and greater freedom of religion has been accompanied by increasingly open expressions of anti-Semitism by extremist organizations such as Pamyat (Memory). Jews are given less access to higher education and career promotions than other groups. There have been restrictions on Hebrew publications and on the production and distribution of Kosher food. Emigration has been extremely difficult, and many "refusniks" (applicants for exit visas and their families) were persecuted. Recent changes in the situation include the opening and reopening of synagogues, the establishment of a Jewish preparatory school in St. Petersburg, a lift on the ban of Hebrew instruction, and the emigration of record numbers of Jews to Israel, the US, and Western Europe.

There are 25-40 million Muslims in the CIS, of which approximately 90% are Sunnites, the rest Shiites. They live primarily in Central Asia, where they maintain their faith and culture. The Muslims have the highest population growth rates in the CIS, and their number is increasing. There are only two hundred mosques in the CIS, and there is a scarcity of copies of the Koran although recently they have become much more available. The Soviet government printed the Koran in Arabic (supposedly to preserve its purity) rather than in Russian or other languages of the Muslim population, making it unreadable by most of the Muslim population. This is changing, however, and a new Islamic Institute in Moscow will serve as a publishing house for many religious and cultural texts, including Arabic instruction textbooks. Other recent changes include an increasing number of Muslims travelling to Mecca for the Hajj, the reopening and

repair of mosques, and the emergence of Islamic political parties such as the Islamic Revival Party (legalized in 1990). Some circles, especially in Tajikistan, are calling for the establishment of an Islamic state in Central Asia.

VII. CHRONOLOGY

862	Riurik arrives in Novgorod
End of 9th-mid 12th centuries	Kievan Rus' period
988	Prince Vladimir of Kiev converts populace to Christianity
1237-1240	Mongol invasion
14th-16th centuries	Development of Moscow as dominant power center
c. 1330	Metropolitanate transferred to Moscow
1448	Moscow Metropolitanate breaks with Patriarchate of Constantinople
1480	End of Mongol rule
1502	Golden Horde destroyed
1547 January	Grand Duke of Moscow Ivan IV (the Terrible) crowned first Tsar of All the Russias
1589	Patriarchate of Moscow established
1598-1613	"The Time of Troubles." A time of great upheaval and struggles for power after Ivan IV's son, Tsar Fedor, dies without an heir. Competing boyar families vie for the throne, as well as many who pretend to be heirs to the Riurik dynasty. The Tatars, Sweden, and Poland each capitalized on Russia's weakness, with Sweden occupying Novgorod and Poland taking over Moscow. From 1611-12, a liberation movement was led by Minin and Pozharsky
1613	Election of Mikhail Romanov as Tsar. Romanov dynasty lasts until February 1917
1652-1666	Reforms of the Russian Orthodox Church by Patriarch Nikon
1654	Russia incorporates the Ukraine
1696-1725	Reign of Tsar Peter I (the Great). He reforms Russian government and society along Western lines. He was almost constantly at war with Sweden, Poland, Persia, or the Ottoman Empire, and extended the Russian empire to the Baltic Sea in the North and along the southern shore of the Caspian Sea. In 1703 St. Petersburg was founded on the Baltic. The capital is moved there from Moscow a decade later. In 1721, he assumed the title of Emperor.

1762-1796		Reign of Empress Catherine II (the Great). She continued the Western reforms of Peter I, as well as territorial acquisition through war
1772		First partition of Poland
1774	July	Peace of Kuchuk-Kainardzhi with Ottoman Empire allows Russia to protect the rights of the Orthodox in the Balkans
1780		Armed Neutrality, directed against Britain, declared
1793	January	Second partition of Poland
1795-97		Third partition eliminates Poland's existence as an independent nation
1799		Russian American Company established to control Russian colonies in Alaska and California
1801-1825		Reign of Tsar Alexander I
1805-1807		Russia in the Third Coalition against Napoleon
1807-1812		Franco-Russian Alliance
1812		Napoleon's Russian campaign. On 24 June 1812, Napoleon invaded Russia, reaching Moscow by September 14. The length of his supply route, a fire which destroyed three-quarters of the city, and uncertainty about events in Western Europe forced him to retreat on 19 October 1812. The winter and Russian partisans took a tremendous toll on the Grand Army and Tsar Alexander continued the attack in order to unify Poland under his rule and to free Europe from the domination of the French. On 31 March 1814, accompanied by Frederick Wilhelm of Prussia, entered Paris
1815	June	Treaty of Vienna
1825	December	Decembrist uprising
1825-1855		Reign of Tsar Nicholas I
1830s-1850s		Gogol, Turgenev, Dostoevsky, Leo Tolstoy publish novels
1849		Russia intervenes to put down Hungarian revolution
1854-1856		Crimean War with Britain and France. Treaty of Paris in 1856 demilitarizes the Black Sea, Russia loses a portion of Bessarabia
1855-1881		Reign of Tsar Alexander II
1861		Emancipation of the serfs
1867		Sale of Alaska to United States
1881	March	Tsar Alexander II assassinated

1881-1894		Reign of Tsar Alexander III
1891-1905		Trans-Siberian Railway built
1894-1917		Reign of Tsar Nicholas II
1883		The first Russian Marxist Group, "Emancipation of Labor," founded in Geneva, Switzerland, with G. V. Plekhanov as its leader
1898		The Russian Social Democratic Labor Party, a Marxist organization, is founded in Minsk; it is soon broken up by the Tsarist secret police and forced to meet in European exile
1903		At a Russian Social Democratic Labor Party congress in London, the party breaks into two factions; the Bolsheviks, led by Lenin, select a name for their wing derived from the word for "majority," although this majority is achieved only by a walkout of the more numerous Mensheviks, a name derived from the word for "minority"
1904-1905		Russia suffers a humiliating defeat in the Russo-Japanese War. A revolution occurs, but is quickly and brutally suppressed, including the "Bloody Sunday" massacre in St. Petersburg. Tsar Nicholas II is forced to accept the creation of the Duma and the establishment of a "Constitutional Monarchy." However, the Duma enjoys very little real power
1914	August	World War I begins, devastating losses for Russia
1917	March	The February Revolution (Russia used the Julian calendar at the time) begins in a wave of strikes and unrest resulting from the sacrifices demanded for the war. Tsar Nicholas II abdicates and the provisional government is established. It is led by Prince George E. Lvov. Russia continues its commitment to its allies to remain in the war
	April	Lenin returns from exile in Switzerland with the assistance of Germany
	July	Prince Lvov is replaced by Alexander Kerensky
	November 7	Bolshevik Revolution begins. The Soviet government publishes the secret treaties of the World War I allies
	December	Finland declares independence
1918	January	Ukraine declares independence
	March	Peace of Brest-Litovsk. Russia leaves the war, losing its Polish, Ukrainian, and Baltic territories, the Caucasian territories of Kars, Batum, and Ardakhan, and most of Byelorussia; Seat of the Soviet government was moved from Petrograd (Leningrad) to Moscow
1918-1922		Civil War, Trotsky's Red Army defeats anti-Bolshevik Whites, led by Admiral Kolchak
1918-1919		American, French, British, and Japanese forces intervene in Civil War
1920-1921		War with Poland
1920	February	Independence of Estonia and Latvia recognized; de facto incorporation of Ukraine into Soviet Russia
1921	February	De facto incorporation of Byelorussia (White Russia)
	March	Kronstadt uprising against Soviets by sailors at naval base near Petrograd;

		The New Economic Policy introduced
1922	December	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics established
1924	January 21	Death of Lenin
1924-26		Power struggle primarily between Trotsky and Stalin. Trotsky and his faction are expelled from the party in 1927 and he is sent to exile in Alma-Ata. Trotsky is expelled from the USSR in 1929 and assassinated by Stalin's secret police in 1940 in Mexico City
1928-33		First 5-Year-Plan. Declared a success by 1932 (the fourth year)
1929-33		Collectivization drive, resulting in massive famine
1933	November	United States and Soviet Union establish diplomatic relations
1934	September	USSR admitted to League of Nations
	December	Assassination of Kirov, local Party leader in Leningrad
1933-39		Great Stalinist Purges. One million party members are expelled, Stalin's political rivals sentenced by "Show Trials," 30 million people die and millions sent to forced labor camps
1939	August	Molotov-Ribbentrop non-aggression pact with Nazi Germany. Secret protocols provide for the division of Poland, the annexation of the 3 Baltic nations into the USSR, and for Bessarabia to be taken from Romania and annexed by USSR (Northern Bukovina was taken as well
1939-40		"Winter War" against Finland
1941	June 22	Germany invades USSR
1941-45		World War II, known in Russia as "The Great Patriotic War." 27 million Soviet citizens die as result of World War II
1941-44		Blockade of Leningrad. Deportations of non-Russian nationalities away from the western front
1945	February	Yalta agreement on the liberation of Europe signed by Franklin D. Roosevelt, Josef Stalin, and Winston Churchill
1947-49		Imposition of communist governments in all East European nations except Greece
1947	September	Cominform (Communist Information Bureau) established
1949	January	Council for Mutual Economic Assistance established
	September	First Soviet atomic bomb explosion
1953	March	Stalin dies
1953-58		Power struggle among Premier Georgi M. Malenkov, Foreign Minister Viacheslav Molotov, Defense Minister Nicholas Bulganin, NKVD Chief Lavrenty Beria, and CPSU

		First Secretary Nikita S. Khrushchev. Beria is executed in December 1953. Khrushchev purges all other rivals by 1958
1956	February	Khrushchev's "Secret Speech" at the 20th Party Congress. The beginning of "De-Stalinization"
	November	Rebellion in Hungary put down by Soviet troops
1957	October	Sputnik launched
1959	September	Eisenhower and Khrushchev meet at Camp David
1960	May	Eisenhower and Khrushchev meet in Paris. The U-2 incident brings a premature end to the meeting
1961	April	Yuri Gagarin becomes the first man in space
	June	Kennedy and Khrushchev meet in Vienna
1962	October	Cuban Missile Crisis
1963	June	Valentina Tereshkova becomes the first woman in space
1964	October	Khrushchev removed from power. Leonid I. Brezhnev becomes CPSU First Secretary and Alexei Kosygin becomes Chairman of the Council of Ministers (Premier)
1968	August	Soviet tanks enter Prague, Czechoslovakia
1973		Brezhnev visits US
1974		Nixon visits USSR
1975		Ford and Brezhnev meet and sign the Helsinki Accords
1977		Brezhnev becomes President, in addition to General Secretary. First time leadership of both party and state held by the same person.
1979		Soviet invasion of Afghanistan
1982		Death of Brezhnev. Yuri V. Andropov becomes General Secretary
1984		Death of Andropov. Konstantin U. Chernenko becomes General Secretary
1985	March	Death of Chernenko. Mikhail S. Gorbachev becomes General Secretary
	July	Gorbachev removes Andrei Gromyko as Foreign Minister, naming him as the largely ceremonial Soviet President; he is replaced by Eduard A. Shevardnadze, a Gorbachev protege; Reagan-Gorbachev Summit meeting in Geneva
1986		Chernobyl nuclear disaster; Reagan-Gorbachev "mini-summit" in Reykjavyk, Iceland
1987		Release of large numbers of political prisoners
1987	October	Boris Yeltsin, former protege of Gorbachev, strongly criticizes Yegor Ligachev, the

second-ranking member of the Politburo; he is forced to resign as Moscow party chief and is removed from the Politburo

December Reagan-Gorbachev Summit in Washington, D.C. Signing of Intermediate Nuclear Force Treaty

1988 Reagan-Gorbachev Summit in Moscow; Gorbachev becomes Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet; Shake up in Politburo. Anatoly Dobrynin, former Ambassador to the US and Central Committee Secretary in charge of foreign relations, Mikhail Solomenstev, Chairman of the Party Control Committee, and President Andrei Gromyko are retired from the Politburo. Yegor Ligachev, the number two man in the Politburo is stripped of his ideological post and seemingly demoted to a Central Committee agricultural post

December Gorbachev speaks to General Assembly, United Nations and meets with Reagan and President-elect Bush

1989 Soviet troops withdrawn from Afghanistan

March First freely-contested elections since 1917 held in order to elect deputies to the new Parliament, the Congress of People's Deputies. Boris Yeltsin and hundreds of other Popular Front candidates, opposed to the Communist Party, are elected

December The Lithuanian Communist Party declares its separation from the central control of the CPSU; physicist Andrei Sakharov dies

1990 January Red Army intervenes in Baku to end violence against Armenians and martial law is declared

February 5000 Lithuanians hand in their Military Enlistment Cards. The Draft Law on Succession of Republics from the Soviet Union is released and requiring the popular approval of 3/4 of the Republic's population and a five year transition period. The Soviet Union charters ships to transport food supplies donated by the German government. A poll published in the periodical *Argumenty i fakty* reveals that the late dissident physicist Andrei Sakharov is more popular than either Gorbachev or Lenin. Pro democracy demonstrations of between 1-300,000 people take place across the country. The Supreme Soviet approves the creation of a powerful executive president who will have the powers to appoint the prime minister and other top officials, and be able to veto legislation passed by the parliament. Official copies of the secret protocols of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact, which provided the basis for the annexation of the Baltic States by the Soviet Union are published.

March Lithuania declares its independence from the Soviet Union. The Soviet government announces its intention to close the Chernobyl nuclear power plant over the next five years. The leadership of the KGB appeals to Gorbachev to end press criticism of the army and security police. Gorbachev announces his opposition to a united Germany within NATO. Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze predicts that the failure of perestroika will lead to anarchy and the possible emergence of a dictator. Mass unrest spreads across Georgia as demonstrators protest the Supreme Soviet plan to create a powerful executive presidency. In further defiance of Moscow, Lithuania announces its intention to proceed with its drive for independence and convert its economy to a market system. Runoff elections in the Soviet Republics witness sweeping victories for pro-democracy candidates. KGB archives reveal Soviet complicity in the Katyn massacre of Polish officers by Soviet soldiers shortly before the outbreak of World War II. Radio Kiev reports the discovery of another mass grave of Stalin's victims in the Ukrainian city of Lugansk. Additional remains are uncovered in Poland. The US and USSR sign a five-year grain deal in which the US agrees to provide 10 million tons of grain. The Soviet Union and Korea begin trade talks. The Lithuanian Supreme Soviet reaffirms its declaration of independence and the Estonian

congress, in contrast to the Communist Party dominated Estonian Supreme Soviet moves in a similar direction

March 13 — The USSR Congress of People's Deputies approves near unanimously the creation of a strong executive presidency and officially ends the leading role of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

March — A public opinion poll shows that Soviet citizens have little faith in the future and the CPSU. Mikhail Gorbachev is elected the Soviet Union's first President by the Congress of People's Deputies. More than 100 Soviet military vehicles are sent into Vilnius, the capital of Lithuania, to enforce Gorbachev's determination to suppress the Republic's independence plans. New violence flares up in Azerbaijan as Azeris and Armenians clash in a display of ethnic tension. The Estonian Communist Party votes to ends its subordination to the CPSU. The Soviet Council of Nationalities approves a bill giving the president the power to declare a state of emergency. Soviet miners declare their independence from the official trade union organizations, and oil and gas workers threaten to strike

April — In a display of his new powers as President, Gorbachev warns Lithuania to retract its moves towards independence. A new law on Ministry of Internal Affairs (MVD) troops authorizes their use upon presidential decree provided the decree is approved by the Republic in which they will be used or USSR Council of Ministers. Gorbachev warns Estonia to rescind its resolution declaring a transitional period towards independence. The Soviet foreign trade deficit for 1989 was reported at 3.3 billion. A new association for independence is established in Ukraine. The Supreme Soviet proposes a law to ban slandering the President. Hard-line Communist Party members attack pro reform members of the CPSU faction "Democratic Platform." Estonia announces an end to mandatory military service. The USSR issues an official apology for the Katyn forest massacre. The Soviet Union threatens an economic blockade of Lithuania unless it ends its drive for independence. The Democratic Platform endorses Boris Yeltsin for chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet against a CPSU hard-liner. The Azeri blockade of Armenia remains in effect despite efforts by central authorities to end it. In Georgia independence rallies continue, and ethnic tensions mount between Georgia and the Autonomous Republic of South Ossetia. Gorbachev calls for more reforms to bring about a regulated market. It is announced that Soviet forces will leave Vietnam by 1992. The USSR Supreme Soviet adopts a law giving the Republics the power to veto federal legislation if it contradicts republican laws. Moscow announces the commencement of an economic blockade of Lithuania

May — Nationality problems continue to plague the Soviet Union. The standoff between Moscow and Lithuania continues. Estonia adopts the name The Republic of Estonia, dropping the words Soviet and Socialist. The Moldavian Supreme Soviet abolishes the primacy of the Communist Party. The Soviet central government rejects the Estonian law on alternative military service. President Gorbachev declares the moves of the Baltic republics towards independence illegal. In Armenia nationalist bands steel 21 Soviet tanks and 21 people are reported killed in ethnic violence in Erevan. The Soviet Union also announces the temporary suspension of troop withdrawals from East Germany due to inadequate housing in the Soviet Union for returning soldiers. In a speech delivered to the Congress of People's Deputies, newly elected Chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Boris Yeltsin proposes separate treaties between the Soviet Republics and the Russian Republic. Gorbachev responds by accusing Yeltsin of threatening to split up the USSR. President Gorbachev and President Bush meet in a superpower summit in the United States

June — The USSR Supreme Soviet passes a Law on Enterprises giving private firms equal opportunity to compete against state firms. The Supreme Soviet declares a state of emergency in the Central Asian Republic of Kirgizia to control ethnic violence. In Uzbekistan, the Uzbek Communist Party calls for genuine political sovereignty for the

	Republic. Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze announces the Soviet intention to seek $20 billion in compensation for releasing East Germany from the Soviet bloc. Gorbachev meets with deputies of the Baltic Republics to break the deadlock over the issue of republic independence, and the Lithuanian government declares a moratorium on the independence declaration
May 11	The RSFSR declares sovereignty
May 16	The RSFSR Supreme Soviet abolishes the leading role of the Communist Party paving the way for the establishment of a multi-party system
July 1-15	The Twenty-Eighth Congress of the CPSU convenes in Moscow. Soviet coal miners stop work in a rash of wild cat strikes throughout the Soviet Union. The CPSU Central Committee elects a new Politburo and Secretariat and KGB and military representatives are excluded from the Central Committee
July 16	The Ukrainian Supreme Soviet declares the Ukraine a sovereign nation
July 17-26	The Soviet Union announces 1989-90 as a year of record emigration. Hungary requests that the USSR condemn the 1956 invasion. Gorbachev announces a crackdown on illegally armed bands, and Armenia defies the measure
July 27	The Byelorussian Republic declares its sovereignty
July 28-31	The USSR Supreme Court authorizes the rehabilitation of 170 more individuals repressed by Stalin. Prime Minister Nikolai Ryzhkov declares that distribution problems could threaten the destruction of more than a quarter of the year's bumper harvest
August	Tass reports that more than 533,000 people left the Communist Party in the first seven months of 1990. Foreign Minister Shevardnadze predicts that Gorbachev will eventually be forced to relinquish his hold on the presidency. The USSR announces its support for UN sanctions against Iraq. President Gorbachev issues a decree rehabilitating all victims of Stalin's crimes and all exiled citizens. A mass grave of Stalin's victims is uncovered near Moscow. Because of improper and inadequate storage, the government announces that one million tons of grain are spoiling every day. Moscow announces rationing of cigarettes due to a tobacco shortage. TASS reported the emigration of over 234,000 citizens in the first half of 1990.
September	Bread shortages are reported throughout the Soviet Union. Gorbachev and Bush meet to discuss the Iraqi occupation of Kuwait. The destruction of monuments to Lenin continues throughout the Soviet republics. West Germany announces the payment of 12 billion Marks to the Soviet Union in compensation for the withdrawal of East Germany from the Soviet bloc. The Republic of Moldavia announces that its citizens will no longer be required to serve in the Soviet armed forces. The Georgian KGB headquarters is attacked by nationalist demonstrators. Western sources announce the beginning of fuel imports by the USSR. President Gorbachev requests additional powers from the USSR Supreme Soviet to push through economic reform. The Soviet Union and Israel announce the reestablishment of consular ties
October 1-29	The CPSU Central Committee hold a plenum to discuss the issue of reform. Gorbachev condemns recent attacks on monuments to Lenin. Soviet naval forces seize a Greenpeace ship in the Arctic Ocean. Gorbachev is awarded the Nobel Peace Prize. The Soviet parliament approves a compromise economic reform plan worked out by Gorbachev. The government announces Soviet GNP declined 1.5% in the first nine months of 1990 relative to 1989
October 30	An opinion poll reveals that only 14% of those polled support the Communist Party
November	The Soviet grain harvest is announced at a record 240 million tons. Gorbachev appeals for calm in the ethnically charged Republic of Moldavia. The Soviet Ministry of Internal Affairs announces that crime rose 12.3% so far in 1990. The USSR Council of Ministers frees prices on a range of luxury goods. President Gorbachev is granted sweeping new powers to consolidate presidential rule. An opinion poll indicates 33% of the population

		fear a right-wing coup. Gorbachev toughens his stand on Iraq announcing that aggression is impermissible
	November 29	In a speech to the Moscow City Party Committee, Gorbachev declares that the CPSU "stands guilty before the working class" for the current crisis
	Dec. 1-16	The European Community proposes to donate $2.4 billion dollars in food and economic aid to the Soviet Union. The Soviet government apologizes for the shooting down of KAL flight 007
	Dec. 17	Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze resigns warning that "dictatorship is coming," and two other prominent reformers, Boris Yeltsin and Professor Yurii Afanasev agree with his prediction
	Dec. 18-31	Gorbachev orders a 5% sales tax on consumer goods and services excluding food. Tass reports an increasing shortage of gasoline and fuel in the eastern USSR
1991	January 1-10	Former Foreign Minister Shevardnadze says he resigned because he feared an impending military crackdown. The Military Prosecutor's Office reports that the number draft dodgers has risen 85.2% since last year. The USSR Ministry of Defense announces its intention to use paratroopers to enforce the military draft which is being evaded by conscripts in the more than six republics
	Jan. 11-13	Soviet troops storm two key buildings in Vilnius occupied by the pro independence Lithuanian National Salvation Committee and several people are reported killed and injured. Gorbachev calls for the reinstating of press restrictions abolished under glasnost'. The State Committee for Statistics reported that economic output for December had declined by 2.8%. Soviet troops seize the Lithuanian television center killing 14 people
	Jan. 14-31	The USSR Supreme Soviet elects Valentin Pavlov as the new Prime Minister and Aleksandr Bessmertnykh as the new Foreign Minister. Thirty Soviet intellectuals condemn the Soviet crackdown in Lithuania. Germany and the Soviet Union sign an agreement to construct housing for soldiers being withdrawn from East Germany. In a speech delivered to the RSFSR Supreme Soviet, Chairman Boris Yeltsin attacks Gorbachev for complicity in the Lithuanian crackdown and calls on the Russian Republic to resist the Soviet government. Gorbachev declares a drastic monetary reform in which 50- and 100-ruble notes are withdrawn and bank withdrawals of Soviet citizens are limited to 500 rubles a month. South Korea announces it will loan the Soviet Union $3 billion over the next three years. Rationing of alcohol, meat, and grain begins in Moscow. The USSR Committee for Constitutional Supervision reviews the legality of a move deploying soldiers alongside regular policemen in patrols throughout the Soviet Union
	February 1-24	Citizens of Lithuania vote overwhelmingly in favor of Lithuanian independence. The Russian Republic announces its intention to seek more control over the Soviet Armed Forces. Maverick Chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Boris Yeltsin declares that Gorbachev is moving towards political dictatorship and calls on Gorbachev to resign. The USSR Supreme Soviet denounces Yeltsin's statement. Gorbachev presents a four point peace plan to Iraq to end the Gulf War. 400,000 members of the opposition coalition Democratic Russia rally in Moscow calling for further democratization and openness
	February 25	The Warsaw Pact is officially dissolved
	March 1	Members of the Independent Miner's Union strike across the Soviet Union to demand wage increases
	March 3	Estonia and Latvia vote for independence in plebiscites in the two republics. China loans the Soviet Union $750 million to buy badly needed food supplies
	March 17	While more than four republics boycott the referendum, a majority of Soviet citizens vote "yes" in a nationwide referendum on preserving the Soviet Union
	March 28	More than 100,000 rally against Gorbachev's ban on public demonstrations in Moscow
	March 31	Georgia declares independence

April	Retail prices on many goods and service rise fivefold. Russian parliament votes to give broad emergency powers to Yeltsin. Gorbachev offers to resign as General Secretary of CPSU; members reject resignation offer
April 23	Gorbachev and the leaders of nine Soviet republics agree to cooperate on country's economic and political problems. Revised Union Treaty includes provision for increased autonomy for the republics.
May	Yeltsin asserts authority over all Russia's coal mines. Gorbachev issues decree outlawing strikes in vital sectors of the economy. Supreme Soviet enacts law easing travel and emigration restrictions for Soviet citizens.
June 12	Yeltsin, campaigning as a political independent, is elected to newly created executive presidency of the Soviet Russian republic, capturing 60% of the vote
June 17	Gorbachev and leaders of seven Soviet republics sign new draft treaty transferring much power from the center to the republics
July	Supreme Soviet approves law to allow for the first time the sale of state-owned enterprises in the USSR. Russian President Yeltsin issues decree banning any political activity in the workplace. Gorbachev announces that leaders of ten Soviet republics have agreed on power-sharing provisions in the union treaty; two days later, Yeltsin tells Russian parliament that parts of the treaty are in dispute. Gorbachev urges party to scrap "outdated ideological dogma"
August pre-coup	Launch of Soviet satellite equipped with US-made devices for monitoring the ozone layer marks the first joint US-USSR space collaboration since 1975
August 19	The August Coup. Tass announces that Gorbachev is incapacitated while vacationing at his dacha in the Crimea and is being replaced by Vice President Gennadi Yanayev and seven other officials calling themselves the State Committee for the State of Emergency. Hours later, military units take up key positions in Moscow. The Emergency Committee issues decrees prohibiting large gatherings, setting curfews in various localities, and imposing bans on political activity and the press. Coup is condemned by western leaders. Russian President Yeltsin denounces the coup as unconstitutional and labels its leaders traitors
August 20	A crowd 150,000, led by Yeltsin, gather at the Russian Parliament building
August 21	Armored vehicles approaching parliament clash with civilians. Coup collapses over uncertainty of the military, and with overwhelming opposition both inside and outside the country. Gorbachev is released; lauds Yeltsin for standing up to the conspirators
August post-coup	Estonia and Latvia declare independence. Soviet State Council formally recognizes Baltic independence. Supreme Soviet issues bans on Communist Party activities for an indefinite period of time
September 2	Congress of People's Deputies approves interim government to initiate a confederation of sovereign states. The State Council, an executive committee chaired by Gorbachev and including the heads of all republics, is responsible for foreign policy, law enforcement and security. An Interrepublican Economic Committee is created to oversee economic and social policies and draft a treaty on republican economic cooperation
September 6	Leningrad adopts its former name, St. Petersburg
September	Liberal economist Grigory A. Yavlinsy develops plan for economic union. Plan calls for a strong central government, a federal-reserve system controlled by a strong central bank, and a free-floating ruble. Four republics, Ukraine, Georgia, Moldavia, and Azerbaijan do not concur with the plan
October	All restrictions on internal travel within Soviet Union lifted. Ukraine parliament votes for the creation of an independent armed force
November	Russian parliament votes to give Yeltsin sweeping powers to launch radical economic reforms in Russia to include the following: lifting price controls; privatization of small and

mid-sized state-owned farms and enterprises; creation of a convertible ruble; a cutoff of Russian monetary support to 70 Soviet ministries and to Soviet foreign aid. Yeltsin issues decree declaring Russian dominance over natural resources found in the republic and repudiating role of central banking authorities. Gorbachev fails to win republican support for the union treaty. US Senate votes to devote $500 million of the defense budget to help the USSR dismantle its nuclear weapons. US announces support for an independent Ukraine. Russia takes control over Soviet Foreign Ministry building because Soviet government lacks funds to keep it running

November 9 The newly independent Republic of Chechen Ingushetia resists Russian troops sent by Yeltsin to impose emergency rule.

December 1 Ukraine declares independence

December 8 Leaders of Russia, Ukraine and Byelorussia declare that Soviet Union has ceased to exist and proclaim a new "Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS)" open to all Soviet republics. The new accord invalidates Soviet authority

December 14 Central Asian republics join CIS

December 17 Gorbachev announces that by the new year, all central government structures will cease to exist. Control of some USSR state agencies, including the central bank, is transferred to Russia; others will be abolished

December 21 Eleven republics of the Soviet Union formally constitute themselves as the Commonwealth of Independent States (Baltic states and Georgia do not participate); Russian given permanent UN Security Council seat

December 25 In a televised address, Gorbachev resigns as president of the Soviet Union and shows support for the CIS; Soviet red flag with hammer and sickle is lowered over the Kremlin and replaced with the white, blue, and red Russian flag

December 26 Supreme Soviet votes to remove the words "Soviet" and "Socialist" from the title of the republic making the official name the Russian Federation

December 30 Members of the CIS agree that members may form armies but that nuclear weapons of the former USSR will remain under unified command.

1992 January Prices for most consumer goods deregulated. Yeltsin grants Moscow Mayor Gavril Popov power to carry out economic reforms in Moscow. Presidential decree issued to merge MVD and KGB. Yeltsin tours Russia and receives wrath of citizens angry over price increases. Trade unions also protest price increases. Russia takes over Soviet seat on the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). Yeltsin presents Supreme Soviet with a legal package calling for stiff penalties on those violating executive directives to include: prison terms for state officials who intentionally break the law; fines and confiscation of profits for persons found to be conducting business activities in violation of the law; dismissal to government officials who fail to carry out executive decrees. In its first major decision, Russian Constitutional Court annuls proposed merger of KGB and MVD. Chairman of the Russian parliament, Ruslan Khasbulatov, protesting the economic chaos created by price deregulation, calls for Yeltsin to replace the government; Yeltsin and Deputy Prime Minister and engineer of the Russian economic reform program reject Khasbulatov's plea. Between 5,000 and 10,000 neocommunists rally against Yeltsin and the Russian government on Moscow's Manezh square. The Russian procurator's office announces formal charges against coup plotters. Gorbachev creates the Foundation for Sociopolitical Research; Ronald Reagan, Margaret Thatcher, and Henry Kissinger agree to participate in the foundation's work. TASS and Novosti merged to form the new government-run Russian Information and Telegraph Agency. Aleksei Yablokov, presidential advisor on ecology and health, announces that Russia's deteriorating environment directly responsible for declining life expectancies. Lenin Library in Moscow renamed the Russian State Library

January 4	The Russian government announced its decision to eliminate all state and collective farms by January 1, 1993. The farms will be reorganized into joint stock companies, cooperatives, or associations.
January 6	Tensions with Ukraine are heightened as Ukraine orders members of former Soviet ground forces and Black Sea Fleet in Sevastopol to swear loyalty oath. Presidents of Latvia, Estonia, and Lithuania demand immediate withdrawal of 200,000 remaining Soviet troops. Military authorities estimate the withdrawal will require 3 years.
January 7	For the first time in 70 years, Christmas is celebrated as an official holiday. Christmas falls on January 7 according to the Russian Orthodox Church calendar.
January 9	President Yeltsin declares that the Black Sea Fleet belongs to Russia.
February	Moscow city government bans all rallies on Red Square except for those sanctioned by government. Yeltsin promises to provide government financial support for the media. Demonstrations continue both for and against the Yeltsin government. Academician Stanislav Shatalin and former USSR Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze warn of another coup. The last political prisoners released from the Perm-35 labor camp. On a trip to France Yeltsin makes an urgent plea to Western nations for aid; he warns that a dictatorship could ensue if aid is not forthcoming.
February 8	Russia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, and Ukraine participate in the XVI Winter Olympic Games in Albertville, France under the banner of the "Unified Team."
February 11	A Russian and an American submarine inadvertently collide in the Barrents Sea. No casualties are reported. The incident is attributed to a discrepancy in the way the two countries determine the limits of their territorial waters.
February 15	The former Soviet defense minister Marshall Evgenii Shaposhnikov is confirmed commander in chief of the Joint Armed Forces of the CIS.
February 21	The Supreme Soviet of Tatarstan decides to hold a referendum on the status of the republic. Citizens will be asked on 21 March 1992: Do you agree that the republic of Tatarstan is a sovereign state, a subject of international law, building its relationship with the Russian Federation and other republics (states) on the basis of equal treaties? Voters will have the choice to respond yes or no. The referendum passes one month later.
March 9	Former US president Richard Nixon criticizes president George Bush and Secretary of State James Baker for failing to sufficiently support aid to Russia.
March 16	Yeltsin creates a new Russian Ministry of Defense.
March 22	The Confederation of Mountain Peoples of the Caucasus meets in Vladikavkaz and creates its own armed forces. The Confederation's president, Musa Shavibov, says the forces will be used to settle inter-ethnic conflict.
March 23	With the exception of Ukraine, Moldova, Azerbaijan and Turkmenstan, CIS members conclude an agreement to form a General Purpose [armed] Force. The CIS Joint Armed Forces now consist of the Strategic and General Purpose Forces.
March 25	Cosmonaut Sergei Krikalev lands in Kazakhstan after 313 days in space. His return was scheduled for October but was postponed due to political turmoil.
March 31	Representatives from Russia's republican and regional governments sign a new treaty defining the nation's federation. Tatarstan and the Chechen republics do not sign the treaty.
April 1	The IMF plans to give $24 billion in aid to Russia over the next year. The US will contribute $4.35 billion.
April 13	In a showdown with the parliament over reform issues and definition of powers, the government resigns. Yeltsin ultimately rejects the resignation.
May 3	Russia admits that Soviet nuclear vessels have been dumping radioactive waste into the Arctic Sea for decades.
May 7	Yeltsin issues a decree creating a separate Russian Army with him as the commander in chief.
May 15	A collective security pact is made between CIS members in Tashkent. The agreement

stipulates that aggression against any member will be considered aggression against all CIS states.

May 15 Japanese leaders tell the American Vice President that Japan will not lend money to the former Soviet Union until the Kuril islands are returned. Japan has committed to lending $400 million to other developing economies in East Europe.

May 18 Army General Pavel Grachev is named Russian Defense Minister.

May 18 Yeltsin signs a decree to raise oil and gas prices by five fold.

May 20 The newly created Security Council of the Russian Federation meets for the first time. The council, headed by President Yeltsin, is the institution through which the executive and legislative branches control Russia's national security policy.

May 21 Four political groups join to form a coalition called "Civic Union." The groups are Vice President Rutskoi's Free Russia People's Party, Nikolai Travkin's Russian Democratic Party, Arkadii Volsky's Renewal Party and the parliamentary faction *smena*--New Policy. The coalition will prove to be one of the most powerful forces of opposition to Yeltsin's government in the year to come.

May 21 The Supreme Soviet votes to void the 1954 cession of the Crimea from Russia to Ukraine.

June 4 The President of the Chechen Republic, Dzhakhar Dudaev, announces the formation of a national army for the republic.

June 4 The Supreme Soviet in Moscow passes legislation to form an Ingush Republic within the Russian Federation.

June 6 The Mayor of Moscow, Gavriil Popov resigns. Popov was known for his strong support of economic and political reforms.

June 8 Deputy Prime Minister Anatolii Chubais--head of the State Property Committee--announces that property seized by the Bolsheviks after the 1917 Revolution will not be returned to original owners or descendants.

June 11 The Supreme Soviet adopts the government's privatization program. The program will hasten the sale of state owned enterprises to private parties.

June 14 Yegor Gaidar, formerly Minister of Finance, is appointed acting Prime Minister by President Yeltsin.

June 16 Presidents George Bush and Boris Yeltsin agree to make further cuts into their nations' nuclear arsenals. By the year 2000 each nation would be limited to 3800-4250 warheads on strategic missiles. A week later, Defense Minister Pavel Grachev extends full support for the agreement.

June 22 Scientists announce that remains of two bodies disinterred in Yekaterinburg the previous year are those of the last Russian Tsar Nicholas II and Tsarina Alexandra. The two were executed by the Bolsheviks on July 17, 1918.

July 8 Russia's Constitutional Court hears the case to decide the legality of President Yeltsin's ban on the Communist Party.

July 17 Viktor Gerashchenko is voted the new chief of Russia's Central Bank. The Bank will be criticized for failing to control money supply and thus worsening inflation.

July 17 The Supreme Soviet votes to take ownership of the newspaper *Izvestiia*. Once property of the Supreme Soviet of the Soviet Union, the major Russian daily declared its independence during the August 1991 coup. The ownership dispute will grow to be a major point of contention between the parliament and President Yeltsin.

July 29 After furious debates in the Russian Parliament between liberals and conservatives, no agreement is reached on the Kurile Islands issue. The four islands adjacent to the Japanese island of Hokkaido were seized by the Soviet Union in the closing days of World War II. Japan insists that the islands be returned before relations can be normalized between the two countries; economic aid from Japan has been made contingent upon their return.

August 3 Russian and Ukrainian presidents agree to place the disputed Black Sea Fleet under joint control for a period of three years.

August 19 Yeltsin announces the government's plan to issue every Russian citizen a voucher representing 10,000 ruble share in state owned industries subject to privatization.

August 19 The ultra-nationalist Russian politician--Vladimir Zhirinovskii, leader of the so-called "Liberal Democratic Party"--calls for a revision of Russian borders at the expense of the Baltic states and Moldova.

August 23 Russia goes ahead with a $200 Million deal to supply India with sophisticated rocket engines. The US has protested the sale due to possible military application of the rockets.

September 3-4 Defense ministers of the CIS meet in Moscow. The group fails to resolve issues of control over nuclear weapons in Belarus, Kazakhstan and Ukraine.

September 9 Yeltsin cancels visit to Japan after negotiations over the fate of the Kuriles fail.

September 14 The US offers Russia $1.5 billion in loan guarantees to purchase food.

September 14 The US, Russia, and Britain announce agreement to allow inspection of Russia's biological warfare facilities.

September 27 A state of emergency is called in the Caucasian republic of Kabardino-Bakaria.

October 1 The Russian government begins issue of 10,000 ruble vouchers. Every citizen is entitled to one voucher which can be used to bid for shares in state-owned enterprises in privatization auctions.

October 3 The Constitutional court bars former Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev from leaving the country until he agrees to testify at a trial of the Communist Party of the former Soviet Union.

October 14 President Yeltsin signs a decree permitting the use of privatization vouchers for the purchase of land and housing.

October 14 The Russian government releases documents confirming Stalin's direct involvement in the 1940 execution of 20,000 Poles including 5,000 army officers at Katyn.

October 16 Yeltsin requests that the Supreme Soviet postpone the 7th Congress of People's Deputies.

October 20 Hardliners in the Supreme Soviet renew claims to the newspaper Izvestiia.

October 22 Russian Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoi calls on the Russian government to share power in a coalition with Civic Union.

October 23 Russian Defense Minister Pavel Grachev releases a statement affirming the military's support of Russia's lawfully elected president, Yeltsin.

October 24 10,000 demonstrators gather in Red Square in Moscow and in cities across the country. The groups call for Yeltsin's resignation and an end to economic shock therapy.

October 27 The Russian parliamentary guard surrounds buildings belonging to the independent newspaper Izvestiia. The guards were sent by the parliament to assert their claims on Izvestiia.

October 27 Reformers and Centrists disagree on the powers of the president. Reformers such as the former Mayor of Moscow, Gavriil Popov, and the head of the Sakhalin Oblast, Valentin Fedorov, called for a suspension of parliament and introduction of "presidential rule." Yeltsin himself backs off from the move. Yeltsin bans the National Salvation Front and the parliamentary guard. The Front is banned because of its calls for the violent overthrow of the government.

October 29 Yeltsin signs a decree halting troop withdrawals from the Baltic states. The decision was tied to a number of conditions including social guarantees to troops in the Baltics, fulfillment of trade agreements, and protection of Russian minorities.

November 2 Yeltsin declares a state of emergency in the warring republics of Ingushetia and North Ossetia. The decree is in response to an attempt made by Ingush irregulars to join parts of North Ossetia (ie the Prigorodnyi Raion) to the Ingush republic. Russian troops are already deployed in North Ossetia to stabilize the situation.

November 3 Russian artillery and aircraft attack Georgian forces deployed in the western Georgian republic of Abkhazia. The attack was reportedly in response to shelling of Russian positions

by Georgian forces.

November 4 An agreement is reached for a cease-fire between North Ossetia and the Ingush republic. Provisions are made to have Russian Ministry of Internal Affairs troops occupy North Ossetia and disarm illegal military units. The following day, the Russian Minister of Defense, Pavel Grachev, flies to North Ossetia to oversee fulfillment of the agreement. Soon afterwards, Russian forces enter Ingushetia. Russian forces in North Ossetia consist of over 10,000 troops. The Russian Parliament votes overwhelmingly in favor of ratifying the Strategic Arms Reduction Talks (START) treaty with the United States. Some hard-line deputies call for a delay.

November 5 In the midst of intense activities before the meeting of the Congress of People's Deputies, Yeltsin announces that his government will not enter into an alliance with Civic Union, Russia's powerful political coalition made up largely of managers of large enterprises. The CIS Council of Defense Ministers fails to agree on a document defining the composition of CIS strategic forces. The CIS commander in Chief, Marshal Evgenii Shaposhnikov, expressed his view that the forces should be under Russian command.

November 6 Tatarstan adopts a constitution declaring itself "a sovereign state, a subject of international law, associated with the Russian Federation-Russia on the basis of a treaty on the mutual delegation of powers." In a letter to the Secretary General of the United Nations, Boris Yeltsin calls on the UN to take all measures possible to stop violations of human rights of Russians living in the Baltics.

November 8 Russian and Turkish governments sign an agreement providing for the sale of Russian helicopters, armored vehicles, and rifles to the Turks. The sale is reported to total $75 million.

November 23 Polls indicate that approximately 25% of eligible Russians have received privatization vouchers.

November 24 The World Bank approves a $70 million loan to Russia for the establishment of a social safety net to deal with problems of mass unemployment.

November 25 Deputy Prime Minister Mikhail Poltoranin resigns.

November 30 Russia's Constitutional Court rules that Yeltsin acted constitutionally in banning the executive bodies of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union but that he did not have the right to ban local party organizations. Yeltsin was also ruled justified in seizing state property formerly under party control. Iranian Navy Commander Abbas Mohtaj confirms plans to purchase two "kilo-class" diesel submarines from Russia at $450 million each. India will receive two MIG-29 jet fighters.

December 1 The Congress of People's Deputies convenes despite Yeltsin's efforts for a delay.

December 3 During a Congress of People's Deputies session a fist fight breaks out between supporters of Supreme Soviet Chairman Ruslan Khasbulatov and advocates of Prime Minister Gaidar's policies.

December 9 President Yeltsin's acting Prime Minister, Yegor Gaidar, fails to obtain confirmation from the Congress of People's Deputies. Gaidar loses the vote 467 to 486. Yeltsin must appoint a new candidate for the position. The Congress of People's Deputies approves a constitutional amendment which would strip the president of his powers if he orders a dissolution of the Congress of People's Deputies or the Supreme Soviet. The confectionery factory "Bolshevik" is the first Moscow enterprise to be auctioned under the new voucher system.

December 10 Soros will establish a new international science foundation to support scientists of the former Soviet Union. $6 million will be available in early 1993. $85 million will be available by mid-year. Yeltsin broadcasts a request for a national referendum in January to allow the people to decide whether they want parliament to lead the country. Hours later, the Congress of People's Deputies rejects Yeltsin's proposal.

December 12 The Chairman of the Constitutional Court, Valerii Zorkin, announces the achievement of

a compromise resolution to hold a referendum on the principles for a new Russian constitution. The referendum is scheduled for 11 April 1993.

December 14 President Yeltsin names new Russian Prime Minister, Viktor Chernomyrdin, previously Minister of the Oil and Gas Industry. Chernomyrdin was approved by the Congress of People's Deputies. Four of the eleven accused of leading the coup in August 1991 are freed on bail. They are A. Lukyanov, V. Varennikov, V. Generalov, and Yu. Plekhanov.

December 17 Yeltsin arrives in China on a trip to discuss economic and political relations. Due to power struggles back in Moscow the trip is cut short.

1993 January 18 Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin reverses a decision to reintroduce price controls for a broad range of goods.

January 19 General Anatolii Kuntsevich--responsible for destroying Russia's chemical weapons arsenal--complains of the cost of destroying Russia's chemical weapons. He suggests that other countries contribute funds to the effort.

January 21 The Deputy Health Minister, Nikolai Vaganov, reports that for the first time since the second world war, Russia's death rate is exceeding the birth rate. The Russian Defense Minister asserts that all nuclear weapons on the territory of the CIS are under Russian control. Of the three other CIS nations possessing nuclear arms, Belarus, Kazakhstan, and Ukraine, only Belarus accepts Russia's position. Russian nationalists appeal to the Russian people to support the Serbs in the conflict taking place in the former Yugoslavia.

January 27 The Chairman of the Russian Constitutional Court, Vladimir Zorkin, recommends that a referendum on the future of Russia's political system not be held.

January 30 A Russian army officer, Major Ivan Kislov, arrested on suspicion of planning to assassinate President Yeltsin.

January 31 In defiance of a presidential ban, the National Council of the National Salvation Front holds its first session near Moscow.

February 1 The government introduces dramatic price increases for natural gas, airline tickets, telephone rates, and some imported goods.

ARMENIA

Area: 11,500 sq. miles (29,800 sq. km.)
Population: 3.3 million (1991)
Capital: Yerevan (1,300,000)
Official Language: Armenian
Religion: Christian - Armenian Apostolic Church

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Table 1. Armenian writing system

Armenian letter	Latin transliteration	Cyrillic transliteration	Armenian letter	Latin transliteration	Cyrillic transliteration
Ա ա	a	а	Յ յ	y[3]	й
Բ բ	b	б	Ն ն	n	н
Գ գ	g	г	Շ շ	sh	ш
Դ դ	d	д	Ո ո	o	во,о
Ե ե	e[1]	е	Չ չ	ch	ч
Զ զ	z	з	Պ պ	p	п
Է է	e[2]	э	Ջ ջ	j	дж
Ը ը	e[2]	ъ	Ռ ռ	rh	рр
Թ թ	t	th	Ս ս	s	с
Ժ ժ	zh	ж	Վ վ	v	в
Ի ի	i	и	Տ տ	t	т
Լ լ	l	л	Ր ր	r	р
Խ խ	kh	х	Ց ց	ts	ц
Ծ ծ	ts	тс	Ու ու	[u][4]	у
Կ կ	k	к	Փ փ	p[3]	пh
Հ հ	h	h	Ք ք	k[3]	кh
Ձ ձ	dz	дз	Եվ և	[ev][4]	ев
Ղ ղ	gh	гх	Օ օ	o[3]	о
Ճ ճ	ch	тш	Ֆ ֆ	f	ф
Մ մ	m	м			

[1] ե = i instead of e in Armenian names ending in ի_ or ի_ւ
[2] Library of Congress transliteration system modified to eliminate diacritical marks
[3] transliterated as h in initial position
[4] letters in brackets indicate Armenian letters or combinations shown in Soviet sources but not included in Library of Congress system

I. ALPHABET AND LANGUAGE

Armenian is one of the ancient written languages of the Indo-European family of languages and was originally based on the Greek and northern Aramaic writing systems. The Armenian language has existed since the fifth century in various forms. The modern language dates from the nineteenth century, has 39 letters, has lost grammatical gender, and contains seven cases. The writing system is as follows: (see opposite page).

II. GEOGRAPHY

Armenia, located in Transcaucasia, is the smallest of the 15 republics that comprised the Soviet Union. The present Armenian state is landlocked and does not encompass all territory populated by Armenians since ancient times. Much traditionally Armenian land lies within Turkey, covering an area of about 57,000 sq. miles. Borders in this region were drawn in 1925 by the Soviet government leaving the primarily Armenian territory of Nagorno-Karabakh within the union republic of Azerbaidzhan and the Azeri region Nakhichevan separated from Azerbaidzhan.

Armenia is a mountainous country, characterized by a variety of scenery; there are no lowlands. The northwest part is a combination of mountain ranges, river valleys, and lava plateaus dotted with extinct volcanoes. Eastern Armenia contains the Sevan Depression and Lake Sevan and is bordered by mountain ranges reaching 11,800 feet. In general Armenia's climate is dry and continental, but regional climate variation is considerable. Despite the small size of the country, five altitudinal vegetation zones exist in Armenia: semidesert, steppe, forest, alpine meadows, and high-altitude tundra.

Armenians constitute 93% of the population. Other ethnic groups include Russians, Kurds and Ukrainians. The Azeri population has largely left Armenia as a result of the war.

III. HISTORY

The Armenians, or Hayk as they refer to themselves, make up one of the world's oldest civilizations. They are first noted in recorded histories in the 6th century BC. Armenia' location has left it vulnerable to invasion and imperial control dating back to ancient times. Armenia was first annexed by the Achaemenian Empire of Persian and Persian satraps governed the country until it was absorbed into Alexander the Great's Macedonian Empire in 331 BC. Tigranes II the Great uinited Armenia and established a short-lived empire around 80 BC. In the late 3rd century AD the Armenian ruler Tiridates III converted to Christianity and in 304 Armenia became the first state to adopt Christianity as its official religion. Armenian culture flourished in the early Christian era, particularly religious literature, art, and architecture.

Armenia has also been controlled by Byzantine, Arab, Ottoman, Mongol, and Russian empires. Armenian territory has been repeatedly partitioned and parcelled out among these empires. In 1828 eastern Armenia, roughly the territory of the present republic, was ceded to Russia by the Treaty of Turkmenchai; the western Armenian territory was left to Turkish rule.

2 ARMENIA

By the late 19th century Armenians were well integrated into political and cultural life of the Russian empire. The Russian rulers built Yerevan from a virtual village into the administrative center of eastern Armenia. Under Russian rule the economy of Armenia diversified to include industry and mining in addition to agriculture. The education system developed. While the relationship between the Armenians and their Russian rulers was not always smooth, Armenian culture blossomed again. Armenians freely practiced their own religion. They also participated in the intellectual and cultural life of the empire.

The Armenian regions left in Turkey remained agricultural. The population of Turkish Armenia did not receive the education that was available to Armenians in the Russian empire. The Christian Armenians were in conflict with their Muslim rulers. Turkish attempts to force conversion of Armenians to Islam, equivalent to Hitler's slaughter of Jews in Germany, resulted in mass migrations to eastern Armenia, Europe, and the United States. In 1915 Turks massacred as many as 1.5 million Armenians. Armenians commemorate this tragedy for their people to this day. Armenians maintain that the Turkish government pursued a policy of deliberate genocide. Turks deny the planned nature of the killings and even the fact that the killings took place. The genocide remains one of the primary barriers to normal Armenian-Turkish relations.

After a short period of independence from May 1919 to November 29, 1920, Armenia became a Soviet Republic. In March 1922 Armenia became part of a Soviet Transcaucasian Federation, until the new Soviet constitution of December 1936 separated the Transcaucasian Federation into three union republics. The borders drawn at the incorporation of Georgia, Armenia and Azerbaijan into the USSR contributed to hostilities which had existed for centuries. Not only were Armenians unhappy with the division between Soviet and Turkic Armenia, but also the fact that Nagorno-Karabakh became an autonomous Oblast within Soviet Azerbaijan.

In 1922 Armenia was devastated after years of brutal wars. To prevent mass starvation the new government turned its focus to agriculture. By 1930 land under cultivation had grown from 30 to 90% and the transportation network had undergone serious reconstruction. From 1929-36 nearly 80% of rural peasant households were collectivized on state farms and the industrialization process got underway. In 1935 industrial output was 650% that of 1928. The trend toward urbanization and industrialization continued throughout the Soviet period as the emphasis on heavy industry grew.

In the early 1920s Soviet nationality policy allowed Armenians control of their own republic for a short time. Rule by communist representatives from the center was soon established. From 1936-38 ethnic Armenian political leaders were purged (a component of the Great Purge) and tight control from Moscow established in politics, economy, and all spheres of life. National culture was subject to violent attacks throughout the 1950s except for a brief period during World War II when the Soviet government needed to solicit support. Control of national culture eased following Stalin's death and Armenian national feeling was encouraged to a degree. Since the Armenian people, as a rule, direct their hostility toward Turks rather than Russians, Armenian nationalism did not seem a threat to the Soviet government. Likewise, Armenians tolerated Soviet rule because The Soviet Union provided a measure of protection from the Turks

as well as socio-economic development it provided.

Dissent was not regularly voiced on any issues until the mid-1980s when Gorbachev came to power. The first demonstration took place in October 1987 when a group of 3,000 demonstrated in Yerevan over environmental issues and Nagorno-Karabakh. In February 1988 opposition activists collected 75,000-100,000 signatures on a petition demanding the return of Karabakh to Armenia. They sent the petition to Moscow where Soviet leaders ignored it. On February 20 the Karabakh Autonomous Oblast demanded transfer to Armenian rule and demonstrators began to gather in Yerevan. By February 27 the crowds numbered as many as one million and Moscow responded by promising to consider the issue. Moscow soon proposed reforms which would increase investment in the Karabakh region, but these measures were only temporary, and inadequate in the view of the Armenians.

By the summer of 1988 supporters of the transfer of Karabakh to Armenia began to organize. Debate on the degree of protest and the extent of demands divided the movement into numerous groups. In June 1988 the Armenian Supreme Soviet agreed to support the transfer of Karabakh to Armenia, the Supreme Soviet of the USSR rejected the proposal in July. Moscow's refusal only worked to increase the nationalist movement in Armenia, as additional national issues were introduced. Issues included the use of the Armenian language and concerns for the environment.

During the last quarter of 1988 violence between Armenia and Azerbaijan increased as did emigration between republics. Soviet military presence in the area grew and a curfew was established. Moscow also issued several concessions on non-Karabakh issues such as education and language.

The situation in Armenia was complicated by the earthquake which devastated Leninakan on December 7, 1988. Thousands were killed, nearly half a million were left homeless and the estimated cost of reconstruction, which has never been completed, was 6 to 6.5 billion rubles.

IV. GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS

Prior to the declaration of independence in September 1991, supported by 99% of Armenian voters, the Armenian government followed the same model as the other Soviet union republics. Political life was under the direction of the communist party. The first multicandidate elections to the Supreme Soviet took place in 1990.

In 1988 the Armenian Supreme Soviet began to develop its own policy. In June it endorsed the Karabakh demand to be transferred to Armenia and came into direct conflict with the All-Union and Azerbaidzhani Supreme Soviets. As of March 1992 the President of Armenia is Levon Ter-Petrossyan, who was elected on October 16, 1991, winning 83% of the vote. The government is now made up of an executive branch (president, vice-president, and a Council of Ministers), a legislative branch (the Supreme Soviet composed of 260 deputies), and the Supreme Court. The new constitution is still in preparation. Meanwhile, the parliament passes fundamental laws one by one.

Ter-Petrossyan's policy on Nagorno-Karabakh is based on the necessity of a political solution to the conflict. In the meantime, he allows the Karabakh Armenians to rely on their own self-defenses. He has been severly criticized, particularly by the Dashnaks (a powerful political party with a strong nationalist agenda and many adherents in the diaspora as well as in the republic), for this policy and his willingness to deal with Turkey. He has been subject to calls for his resignation and has been forced to replace key members of his government.

Hostilities continue in Nagorno-Karabakh and break out occasionally on the borders of Azerbaidzhan and Armenia. Concerns for the war occupies most of the political energy of the Armenian republic. Many Armenians and Azerbaidzhanis believe that Russia's shifting support from Armenia to Azerbaidzhan depending on the changing military fortunes of the sides serves the Russian interest of prolonging the conflict, rather than moving it toward resolution. As long as the war continues neither side can concentrate on developing new governmental institutions to replace the discredited Soviet bodies.

V. ECONOMY

During the 17th century, Armenian merchants served as links between Europe and the East, exporting Persian silk and importing glass, clocks, paintings, etc. In the course of the 17th century they amassed great wealth and built many magnificent churches and mansions, thereby attracting Persian envy. From the beginning of the 18th century, the Nāder Shāh began to penalize the Armenians with excessive taxation, and Armenian merchants began a gradual decline that continues to the present day.

During the Soviet period the economic emphasis in Armenia shifted from agriculture to industry. Under Soviet rule, Armenia became a major supplier of chemicals, nonferrous metals, machines, equipment, precision instruments, textiles and clothing, wines, brandies, and canned goods. The republic also has mineral resources, especially metal ores. During the Soviet period the food industry produced in excess of domestic demand and exported to the rest of the Soviet Union. Light industry specialized in woolen, silk, and cotton fabrics; carpets; and footwear. Armenia imports coal, petroleum products, metals, timber, grain, and industrial raw materials. As of the beginning of 1993 85% of farmland has been privatized.
The republic's economy is currently in a deepening crisis as a result of the earthquake, the economic blockade imposed by Azerbaidzhan in 1988, and the war. The earthquake forced the shutdown of Armenia's nuclear power plant for safety reasons and left the country completely reliant on foreign sources for fuel and electricity. The blockade has cut off almost all lines of fupply of goods and fuel. Production in all sectors has reached a virtual standstill with only two of the nation's factories still in operation during the winter of 1992/3. The capital is without electric power for the most part. Schools closed in November 1992 and apartments have been unheated in this harsh winter of 1992/3.

VI. RELIGION

The Armenians were converted to Christianity is 300 AD and most Armenians today belong to

the Armenian Apostolic Church or the Armenian Catholic Church. Conflict with Turkey and Azerbaidzhan is, at least in part, a conflict between Christians and Muslims.

VII. CHRONOLOGY

550 BC (c.)	Armenia annexed with Media to form part of the Achaemenian Empire of Persia
300 BC	Armenia absorbed into the Macedonian empire of Alexander the Great
190 BC	Artashes (Artaxias) established as king of Greater Armenia
80 BC	Tigranes II the Great establishes a united Armenia
287 AD	Tiridates III becomes king of Armenia; adopts Christianity as state religion
300	Armenians converted to Christianity
390	Division of Armenia into two sections: Byzantine Armenia and Persarmenia
5th cent	Armenian written Christian literature begins; a "golden age"
481-484	Revolt led by Vahan Mamikonian secured religious and political freedom for Armenia in return for military aid to Persia
536	Justinian I reorganizes Byzantine Armenia into four provinces
640	First, unsuccessful, Arab raid into Armenia; Theodor named commander in chief of the Armenian army by Constans II
653	Constans II voluntarily surrenders Armenia to the Arabs, who grant it virtual autonomy and appointed Theodor as governor; much unrest remained
806	Arabs chose Ashot Bagratuni the Carnivorous to be prince; establishment of family rule
10th cent	St. Gregory Narekatzi as the first great Armenian poet; art and literature flourish
968	Byzantine conquest extinguishes Armenian independence
1071	Armenia falls to Turkish rule
1199	Leo II the Great crowned king of Armenia in Tarsus; his line in lesser Armenia lasted until 1382
1242	The whole of Armenia and Georgia fall into the hands of the Mongols
1405	Upon the death of Timur, the eastern Armenian regions pass to the Turks
1502	Persian take over
1514-1516	Ottomans seize Armenia from Persian rule

16-18 cent		Popular bands called *ashugh* arise, the most famous being Nahapet Kuchak and Aruthin Sayadian
1620		Peace between Ottomans and Persians; majority of Armenia under Ottoman rule, Yerevan, Karabakh and Nakhichevan regions under Persian rule
1722-30		Period of independence for Karabakh region; Persian-Turkish struggle
1735		Persians under Nadar Shah drive out the Turks
1813		Russians advance to the Caucasus, rule over Karabakh
1828		Persians cede Yerevan and Nakhichevan to the Russians
19th century		Armenian cultural renaissance-contact with liberal thought in Russia
1863		Armenians in Turkey adopt a constitution, later suffer many abuses
1903		Nicholas II closes schools and confiscates the property of the Armenian Church
1915-16		Genocide of hundreds of thousands of Armenians by the Turks
1916		Turkish Armenian regions fall to the Russian army
1918	April 22	Armenia, Georgia and Azerbaijan form the Transcaucasian Federal Republic
	May 28	The joint republic splits - Armenia becomes an independent nation
1920	January 15	The Allies recognize the de facto existence of Armenia; later gained de jure recognition
	September	The Turks attack
	December 2	Armenia renounces pre-1914 territories to Turkey
	December 3	The remaining portion of Armenia becomes a Soviet republic
1921	February	The Armenian Dashnaks attempt a coup d'etat
1922	December	Armenia joins Georgia and Azerbaijan to form the Transcaucasian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic as part of the USSR
1936	December 5	Armenia becomes a separate Soviet republic under the new Soviet constitution
1936-8		The Great Purge
1987	October	Demonstration on the issues of the environment and Karabakh in Yerevan
1988		Petition signed by 75,000-100,000 Armenians demanding the transfer of Karabakh presented to Soviet central leadership
	Feb 20	Mountainous Karabakh Soviet of People's Deputies demands to be returned to Armenia
	Feb 20-27	Demonstrations in Yerevan protesting Moscow's rejection of the petition reach as many as a million by the end of the week; Moscow agrees to investigate the issue
	Feb 29	Armenians in the Azerbaidzhani city of Sumgait killed (officially 32 killed, rumors that deaths amounted to hundreds or even thousands)
	May 28	Demonstrators raise the tricolor flag of independent Armenia to celebrate the anniversary

		of its short-lived independence (1918)
	June 13	General strike of 700,000 in Yerevan
	June 15	Session of the Armenian Supreme Soviet endorses Karabakh Autonomous Oblast's call for transfer to Armenia; appeals to Moscow
	June 17	Azerbaijani Supreme Soviet rejects the demand
	July 4-5	Demonstrators close the Yerevan airport; troops brought in, injuring several people with at least one death
	July 18	Supreme Soviet of the USSR rejects the proposal to transfer Karabakh to Armenia
	December 7	Armenia suffers a devastating earthquake; official death poll is 25,000, but probably should be higher; Medzamor nuclear power station shut down
1989		Economic blockade of Armenia imposed by Azerbaijan
1991	March 17	Armenia boycotts the Soviet referendum on preserving the union
	September 21	Referendum on Armenian independence, 99.31% in favor
	September 23	Armenian parliament declares independence from the USSR
	October 16	Levon Ter-Petrossyan is elected President, winning 83% of the vote
	December 21	Armenia joins Commonwealth of Independent States
1992	January 6	Turkey recognizes Armenia; Republic of Nagorno-Karabakh declares independence from Azerbaijan
	March 30	Armenian communist party resumes activities
	April 14	Chairman of Nagorno-Karabakh parliament killed in Stepanakert, Armenian parliament sends team to investigate, they declare the killing an accident
	mid-May	Armenian forces open a corridor from Armenia into Nagorno-Karabakh
	June 16	Dashnaks call for resination of Ter-Petrossyan's government and recognition of the Republic of Nagorno-Karabakh
	July 14	Armenia announces that it will not participate in further peace talks until all of the countries involved in the process condemn the Azerbaidzhani military offensive
	August 13-15	State of Emergency declared in Nagorno-Karabakh in response to Azerbaidzhani military successes; the government resigns and is replaced by a Defense Committee
	September 30	Russian Prime Minister Gaidar visits Yerevan
	November	Schools close in Yerevan for lack of heat
	December 7	President Ter-Petrossyan declares the entire country a disaster area
1993	January 23	Last remaining natural gas pipeline into Armenia blown up in Georgia; repaired
	February 11	Pipeline blown up again; public transportation and telephone service in the capital cease; lack of electricity threatens the safety system at the deactivated Medzamor nuclear plant
	Feb. 19-20	Pipeline blown up for the 3rd time; tens of thousands participate in demonstrations in Yerevan protesting economic conditions, demanding recognition of the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic, and calling for Ter-Petrossyan's resignation
	March 3	Opinion poll finds the ultra-nationalist Dashnak party the most popular in Armenia

AZERBAIJAN

Area: 33,400 sq. miles (86,600 sq. km.)
Population: 7,146,000 (1991)
Capital: Baku (1,780,000)
Official Language: Azeri
Religion: Muslim
Currency: ruble and manat

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I. ALPHABET AND LANGUAGE

Azeri, the language of the people of Azerbaijan, belongs to the southwestern branch of the Turkic languages. Four different regional dialects can be distinguished in Azeri; the northern, southern, eastern, and western groups. The language was written in the arabic alphabet until 1929, the Latin alphabet from 1929-1939; and in 1939 a modified cyrillic alphabet was adopted. Alphabet reform is again in progress to reintroduce the Latin alphabet.

II. GEOGRAPHY

Azerbaijan occupies a territory about the same size as Portugal. It is bounded on the north by Georgia and Russia, on the south by an ethnically Azerbaijani region of Iran, on the west by Armenia, and on the east by the Caspian Sea. Two geographic oddities are associated with Azerbaijan. The Nakhichevan Region, administratively a part of Azerbaijan and ethnically Azerbaijani, is geographically separated from Azerbaijan by a strip of land belonging to Armenia. Nagarno-Karabakh, a Christian Armenian enclave within Azerbaijan, has been the sight of much ethnic conflict.

The ethnic breakdown of the population of Azerbaijan is as follows: 83% are Azeri, 6% are Russian, 6% are Armenian, 6% of the population is composed of people of various ethnicities including Kurds and Lesghians. 20,000 Armenians remain in Azerbaijan, most of whom are married to Azerbaijanis. These people complain of threats, intimidation, dismissals from their jobs, and abductions. Many have applied for refugee status in the U.S., others have left for Russia. According to the 1989 Soviet census 12,000 Kurds live in Azerbaijan. The Kurdish population has recently begun to demand autonomy. The 400,000 Lesghians who live along the Azerbaijan-Daghestan (still part of Russia) border also want autonomy for their people.

Azerbaijan is characterized by a variety of landscapes. More than 40 percent of its territory consists of lowlands (1,300 to 4,900 feet above sea level) while areas above 4,900 feet occupy about 10% of the total area. The climate of Azerbaijan is diverse. A dry subtropical climate characterized by mild winters and long hot summers prevails in central and eastern Azerbaijan. Southeast Azerbaijan is characterized by a humid subtropical climate with a high level of precipitation. The province of Nakhichevan is characterized by a dry continental climate, with a cold winter and a dry, hot summer.

III. HISTORY

Early History. Azerbaijan and the Iranian provinces of Azerbaijan adjoin each other. The origin of the peoples of both regions and their history up to the Soviet period is broadly the same. Azerbaijan was the center of several ancient civilizations. In the 4th century BC it was conquered by Alexander the Great. The area came under Persian rule in the 3rd century AD. The Arabs controlled Azerbaijan from the 7th century until Turkish nomads overran it in the 11th century. In the 13th century, the region was conquered by Mongol invaders and became

the center of the Mongol empire. Tabriz, the region's largest city, was the capital of this empire and became a center of cultural and commercial life. In the period following Mongol rule, the Ottoman Turks and the Iranians fought over the area until the Turks were expelled in the 1740s. Russian troops first entered Azeri territory in the early 18th century. After a long period of war Russia acquired the territory of what is now known as Azerbaijan by the Treaty of Turkmenchai in 1828.

The Soviet Period. At the time of the 1917 Revolution, an attempt was made to establish an independent Transcaucasian federation consisting of Azerbaijan, Georgia, and Armenia. Political in-fighting together with racial and religious animosity caused the downfall of the federation. In May 1918 an independent republic of Azerbaijan, recognized by the Allied powers, was formed. The new republic was short-lived as Azerbaijan was invaded in April 1920 by the Red Army. The Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic was created the same month. In 1922 it was incorporated into the Transcaucasian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic until 1936, when that Federation was disbanded and Azerbaijan became a union republic in its own right. In the late 1980s the new freedoms allowed under Gorbachev's policies of glasnost and perestroika led to violent clashes between ethnic Armenians and the Azerbaijani government in the ethnically Armenian enclave of Nagarno-Karabakh.

IV. GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS

From 1936 until August 1991, Azerbaijan was one of the fifteen republics which composed the Soviet Union. As in other constituent union republics, Azerbaijan sovereignty was severely curtailed through the subordination of all matters concerning economic development and social, political, cultural, foreign, and military affairs to the central government in Moscow. The governmental administrative and executive body was called the Supreme Soviet of the Azerbaijan SSR. The Communist Party of Azerbaijan was the only authorized political organization and the main power center of the republic.

Azerbaijan's political administration has not yet coalesced into a coherent structure. Currently the government consists of an executive branch made up of a president, vice-president, and Council of Ministers; the legislative arm is the National Council (50 delegates); and a Supreme Court. Azerbaijan's government strives to be a parliamentary democracy, not an Islamic fundamentalist state; it models itself on Turkey rather than Iran. Azerbaijani parliamentary politics are controlled by informal groups and have a very stormy character with frequent walk-outs and occasional hunger strikes forming a part of the political landscape. As is the case for Armenia, the war in Nagorno-Karabakh is the most pressing political issue in Azerbaijani politics and saps vital energies necessary to rebuild the government and economy of the republic. All attempts by the Karabakh Armenians to leave Azerbaijan are considered naked aggression against the republic.

In the spring of 1989, a group of Azerbaijani intellectuals founded the Azerbaijani Popular Front which aimed to create a politically and economically-sovereign, constitutionally-governed Azerbaijan within the Soviet Union. On September 30, 1990 elections were held to

fill all 350 of the seats in the Supreme Soviet. Alternative political parties such as the Popular Front were permitted to field candidates. However, the Azerbaijan Communist Party controlled an overwhelming majority of the parliamentary seats. On August 30, 1991 Azerbaijan declared its independence from the Soviet Union. Presidential elections took place in Azerbaijan on September 8, 1991. Ayaz Mutalibov, who was elected president by the Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet in May, 1990, and who resigned as Azerbaijan Communist Party First Secretary in the wake of the failed August Coup of 1991, was elected president in the single-candidate race gathering approximately 80% of the vote. In mid-September the Communist Party of Azerbaijan voted to liquidate itself.

On June 7, 1992 Azerbaijan held its first free elections since the imposition of communist rule in the region. The balloting was rather chaotic, but Popular Front chairman Abulfez Elchibey was elected president with 76% of the vote. The most important issue in the election was the war. All candidates were unwilling to consider any solution to the problem other than maintaining sovereignty in the region. They were willing to allow Armenians to continue living in Nagorno-Karabakh as citizens of Azerbaijan. Another major problem in the elections was the registration of the thousands of refugees displaced by the conflict (these number over 300,000 people in Azerbaijan alone).

V. ECONOMY

The economy of Azerbaijan is both agrarian and industrial. The industrial sector has traditionally revolved around petroleum and natural gas production, but the light and food industries are of growing importance. At the turn of the century Azerbaijan was the world's leading petroleum producer. While Azerbaijan's share of world oil production decreased as the industry developed in other regions of the Soviet Union and the world, the annual output of oil in Azerbaijan is still considerable. This comes mostly from the oil fields surrounding Baku. Other resources found in Azerbaijan include gas, lead, zinc, iron, copper, limestone, and marble. Azerbaijan manufactures equipment for the oil and gas industry, electrical equipment, appliances and instruments. Light industrial goods manufactured include cotton and wool textiles, knitwear, traditional household items, souvenirs, footwear, and other consumer goods.

Most freight sent out of Azerbaijan is carried by rail as most of the rivers in Azerbaijan are not navigable. Motor transport is also extensively used for both freight and passengers. Baku, the capital of Azerbaijan, is one of the busiest seaports on the Caspian Sea. A ferry link between Baku and Krasnovodsk, Turkmenistan, built in 1962, considerably increased the amount of cargo passing through Azerbaijan.

Although arable land in Azerbaijan constitutes only 7 percent of the total, the republic accounted for over 10% of the gross agricultural output of the former Soviet Union. Cotton is the second leading agricultural product and cotton is the second most valuable. Azerbaijan is known for many different varieties of grapes used for wine making. Early varieties of vegetables, fruit, walnuts, and hazelnuts are other cash crops grown in Azerbaijan.

In 1991 the unemployment rate in Azerbaijan was 27.6%, the highest of all the former Soviet republics.

VI. RELIGION

For the most part, the Azerbaijani people are Muslims (70% Sunni, 30% Shiite). However, the Nagarno-Karabakh region is populated by Christian Armenians.

VII. CHRONOLOGY

642		Azerbaijan conquered by the Arabs
9th century		Population, which had previously been Persian (Iranian), became Turkicized
1239-1498		Mongol domination
18th century		Military rise and territorial expansion of Russia
1828		Azerbaijan is divided between Russia and Iran along present day border
1901		Azerbaijan world's leading oil producer
1917	March	Russian Revolution
1918	May	An independent republic of Azerbaijan was formed after the failure of the Transcaucasus republic
1920	January	Republic of Azerbaijan recognized by Allied powers
	April	Azerbaijan invaded by Red Army and the government surrendered to communist authorities. Azerbaijani Soviet Socialist Republic formed.
1922		Azerbaijan incorporated into the Trancaucasian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic
1936		Azerbaijan adopts the new Soviet constitution
1937		Constitution of Azerbaijan drafted
1945		Azerbaijan Academy of Sciences established
1989		Azerbaijani Popular Front formed with the aim of promoting the goals of perestroika
1990	January	Anti Armenian pogroms in Baku; 150 killed; radical wing of Azerbaijani Popular Front held responsible
	September	Multi-candidate elections held to fill Supreme Soviet
1991	August	President Mutalibov supports the abortive coup in Moscow; hastily retracts support
	September	Azerbaijan declares independence from Soviet Union; National Council established Presidential elections take place; Ayaz Mutalibov, former head of the Azerbaijan

		Communist Party, elected
	October	Soviet military hardware in the republic nationalized; Azerbaijani soldiers in the Soviet army recalled
	November 20	Crash of helicopter transporting Russian and Azerbaijani personnel to Nagorno-Karabakh peace talks; the Supreme Court revokes Nagorno-Karabakh's autonomous status in response to the assumption that Armenian forces shot down the helicopter
	December	Mutalibov brings Azerbaijan into the Commonwealth of Independent States despite unanimous rejection of membership by National Council; treaty never ratified, yet Azerbaijan always sends a representative to CIS meetings
1992	January 2	Direct presidential rule declared by Mutalibov for Nagorno-Karabakh
	January 6	Most retail prices freed; parliament of Nagorno-Karabakh holds inaugural session in Yerevan despite Azerbaijani attempts to prevent it
	February	Azerbaijani Popular Front seizes power in bloodless coup; several hundred Azerbaijanis killed in Karabakh town of Khodzhaly, probably by Armenian and CIS troops
	mid-February	US Secretary of State James Baker visits Baku
	February 17	Azerbaijan joins Economic Cooperation Organization of Muslim states (Turkey, Iran, Pakistan, former Soviet Central Asian republics)
	February 28	Azerbaijan asks Baltic Council to mediate Nagorno-Karabakh dispute
	March 5	Elmira Kaforova, chairwoman of parliament, resigns; she is replaced by Yakub Mamedov, dean of the Baku Medical School
	March 6	Mutalibov forced to resign in wake of Khodzhaly killings; Mamedov named interim president; demonstrations and strikes in Baku demanding wage increases to counter higher prices; armed groups from the Popular Front oust local administrators in rural areas
	May 11	The Karabakh city of Shusha falls to Armenian forces
	May 14	Parliament reinstates Mutalibov; state of emergency declared in Baku; political parties banned; National Council dissolved
	May 15	Popular Front orchestrates protest strike and takes over TV and presidential palace
	May 18	Parliament suspended; Isa Gamburov named interim president
	June 7	Abulfez Elchibey wins election with 59% of the vote
	June 12	Azerbaijan launches offensive in Karabakh; 20 villages retaken in 5 days of fighting with hundreds killed; Turkish officers and Russian mercenaries strengthened Azerbaijani forces
	June 14	Kurds demand independent state
	June 15	CSCE-sponsored preparatory peace talks open in Rome; fighting in Karabakh continues
	August 24	Journalist Rahbar Bashiroglu and his wife murdered in their apartment; Bashiroglu intended to publish detailed accounts of human rights violations by the Soviet Army in January 1990
	Sept 30	Russian Prime Minister Gaidar visits Baku
	October 7	Parliament votes not to join CIS
	October 8	Azerbaijan tightens controls on Iranian border to counter drug smuggling
	October 31	Azerbaijan signs protocol on economic relations with Turkey, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan in Ankara
1993	February 22	Defense Minister Rahim Gaziev resigns when blamed for military setbacks in Karabakh; Afghan veteran Major-General Dadash Rzaev replaces him (Azerbaijan's 5th Defense Minister in 18 months)

BELARUS

Area: 80,200 sq. miles (207,600 sq. km.)
Population: 10.2 million
Capital: Minsk (1,613,000)
Official Language: Belorussian
Religion: Orthodoxy, Catholicism
Declared independence August 25, 1991

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I. ALPHABET AND LANGUAGE

Belorussian, the language spoken by the vast majority of the residents of Belarus, is part of the East Slavic language group. Within Belarus two distinct dialects are spoken, the northeast and the southwestern, and two subdialects can also be found. Although Belorussian is grammatically very similar to Russian, it has many more words borrowed from Polish, German, Latin, Turkic and Lithuanian. Belorussian uses the Cyrillic alphabet, based on the Russian, but with some additional letters. Some Catholic Belorussian writers have also used the Latin alphabet.

II. GEOGRAPHY

Belarus borders Russia, Ukraine, Poland, Lithuania and Latvia. The land in Belarus is primarily a plain with numerous lakes, swamps, and marshes, with the highest point is only 1,168 ft. above sea level. The large Central plain is very fertile and well-suited for agriculture, and the south consists of marshlands, known as the Belorussian Lowland, which join the Ukrainian Pripet Marshes in the east. Forests cover one-third of the territory, and the climate, influenced by the Baltic Sea, is mild and humid.

Belorussians comprise four-fifths of the population. Other ethnic groups include Russians, Ukrainians, Poles, Jews, Tatars, Lithuanians, Gypsies and Latvians.

III. HISTORY

It is believed that the first Slavic tribes settled in the territory of Belarus around the 6th century, either assimilating or displacing the local Baltic tribes. Cities were built and trade developed between the 9th and 11th centuries while local principalities maintained loose ties with the Kievan state. During the 13th and 14th centuries, the lands of Belarus were absorbed by the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, a relationship much more amiable than that which neighboring Russia faced under Mongol conquest. Belorussian became the official language of the new joint state. In the 16th century Lithuania joined with Poland, forming a united Polish-Lithuanian state known as the Rzeczpospolita, and Belarus consequently declined in importance. During the 16th and 17th centuries the Belorussian and Lithuanian nobility underwent Polonization, a process accelerated by the establishment of the Uniate Church in 1596, and accepted Catholicism and the Polish language. In 1697, Polish became the official state language.

As a result of the Polish partitions of 1772, 1773, and 1795, Poland, and therefore Belarus, became part of the Russian empire. The condition of the serfs deteriorated, and in 1863, K. Kalinowski led Belorussian peasants in a revolt against the Russian state. The anti-Russian uprisings of 1830 and 1863 stripped the Polish minority of much of their power, and the clash between Orthodox Russian and Catholic Polish nationalism over Belarus contributed to the growth of a movement of Belorussian nationalism. The late 19th century was a time of industrialization. By the beginning of the 20th century the timber, tobacco and vodka

industries flourished, and by 1913, overall industrial production had doubled that of 1903.

However, the late 19th century was also a time of national repression. The Belorussian language was banned in schools as the language of instruction and in national newspapers.

The early 20th century brought confusion to the Belorussians, as their territory switched hands several times. Although the 1917 attempt by the nationalist group Rada to establish an independent Belarus was unsuccessful, on January 1, 1919 the Belorussian Soviet Socialist Republic was officially founded. However, because of the continuing Russo-Polish War, control of the territory remained under dispute. Poland occupied Belarus from 1920 to 1921 and proceeded to annex the western lands. On March 18, 1921 the Treaty of Riga divided Belarus between the USSR and Poland, yet the borders were not finalized until 1926. In 1922, Belarus joined the Soviet Union, and the western lands were regained from Poland in 1939 at the beginning of World War II, in accordance with the terms of the Soviet-German Non-Aggression Pact. During the early inter-war years, Belorussian language use flourished, as the number of books published in Belorussian grew dramatically and the literacy rate increased, but during Stalin's political and cultural purges of 1933-38, the growth of Belorusian nationalism was halted.

Belarus was further devastated by World War II. As the first part of the Soviet Union to be invaded in 1941, its territory was under German occupation from 1941-44. Hitler's plan for Belarus included the extermination of 75% of the population and the "Germanization" of the remaining 25 percent. During the German retreat, Belarus' agricultural and industrial bases were destroyed. Approximately 2.7 million Belorussians perished during this period, and some 9500 towns and villages were destroyed. As of 1942, over 300,000 Jews had died, and by the end of the war, nearly all Belorussian Jews had been killed or deported. Many Poles and Lithuanians had also moved back to their native lands. In addition, Belarus experienced an influx of ethnic Russians who were imported to fill new communist party and government posts. It took Belarus decades to recover from its losses during the war, and it was not until 1959 that the economic development of Belarus finally accelerated.

The Gorbachev Period

National opposition developed much more slowly in Belarus than in other Soviet republics. Small organizations were developed as attempts to influence social and political life in the republic. Some groups sought the revival of the Belorussian language and history, while others worked for the cause of specific projects such as environmental issues. The first of these organizations, *Spadcyna* ("Heritage"), emerged in 1988.

In February 1989 over 50,000 people attended a rally in Minsk organized by the Renewal Belorussian Popular Front for Perestroika and showed a strong challenge to the political leadership of the republic. However, in general, Belorussian resistance in the late 1980s was far less radical than that found in the other republics.

On August 25, 1991, the Belorussian parliament declared independence from the Soviet

Union. In December Leonid Shushkevich, Chairman of the Belorussian Supreme Soviet, along with the Russian and Ukrainian presidents, Yeltsin and Kravchuk respectively, met in the Belorussian capital of Minsk and declared that the USSR no longer existed, and that a new Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) had been formed. The Belorussian parliament soon ratified the commonwealth agreement, and Belarus became a founding member of the CIS. During the Soviet period Belarus underwent large-scale modernization, industrialization, and urbanization, and under Gorbachev's economic reforms, Belarus became one of the first four Soviet republics to be self-financing. Under Soviet rule, many Belorussians lost their own national culture, choosing instead to assimilate with the related and dominant Russians.

IV. GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS

The governmental system in Belarus generally mirrored that of the USSR through 1991. The Communist Party dominated and the Supreme Soviet of Belarus was the highest body of the state. Like Ukraine and Russia, Belarus was a charter member of the United Nations. Even during the period of perestroika and resistance to the Soviet government, political opposition was weak and disorganized in Belarus. Small movements came into existence but did not pose a serious threat to the established political order.

Through 1991 the Belorussian parliament remained communist-dominated and its chairman as of March 1992 is Leonid Shushkevich. Debates began in early 1992 over the control of the Supreme Soviet and a committee was formed to begin discussing the possibility of holding early elections for a new parliament. Mr. Stanislau Shushkevich is the President of Belarus, and the Foreign Minister is Piotr Kravchenko.

V. ECONOMY

The main industries that developed in Belarus under Soviet rule are engineering, chemicals, woodworking, machine-building, light manufacturing, and food processing. In addition to a substantial timber industry, Belarus's natural resources include high-quality petroleum, peat, oil, shale and coal, as well as the second largest potassium-salt deposits in Europe. The most important agricultural products are grain, potatoes, sugar beets, and flax. However, more than half of agricultural output, has been in products such as hogs, cattle, poultry and dairy products. Fur farming and beekeeping represent traditional agricultural pursuits.

The almost continual wars during the first half of the 20th century severely limited economic development in Belarus, and the German occupation of 1941-44 was particularly devastating. Following the war, Belarus gradually rebuilt its agricultural and industrial base, but remained behind the development of most other Soviet republics until the period of Gorbachev's reforms. Between 1980-87 Belarus, surprisingly, ranked second in both the total volume of industrial output and the growth of agricultural production and first in the growth of labor productivity during the period. Among the tragic consequences of the 1986 explosion at the Chernobyl Nuclear Power Plant, when 70 percent of the radiation fell on Belarus, was the

resettlement of over 100,000 Belorussians to uncontaminated areas; and 20 percent of the arable land was rendered useless. Nevertheless, the economic situation in Belarus has strengthened appreciably. Currently, most enterprises remain under state ownership, and the government appears hesitant to implement privatization measures.

VI. RELIGION

Belorussians were traditionally Orthodox, but with their incorporation into the Polish-Lithuanian state, many converted to Catholicism. In 1596 the Uniate Church developed as a variation of Catholicism, but little change was seen in the still predominantly Orthodox population. Under Russian domination in the early 19th century, the Uniate Church was persecuted and many converted to Orthodoxy. In 1992, the Orthodox Church in Belarus celebrated its 1,000 year anniversary.

VII. CHRONOLOGY

11th cent	Literary activity begins
12th cent	Cyril of Turov active in the Orthodox Church; admired as "the second Chrysostom"
1240	Kievan Rus breaks up; Belarus passes to Lithuanian control
1386	Poland and Lithuania are joined under the Jagiellonian dynasty
1517	The Bible is translated into Belorussian by Frantsysk Skaryna
1557	The *voloka* agrarian reform introduces the three-field system of agriculture; transforms peasants into serfs
1569	Poland and Lithuania become one state by the Lublin Union
1596	Union of Brest establishes the Uniate Church
1648-54	Large-scale revolt against Polish landlords
1772	First partition of Poland; Catherine II the Great acquires eastern portion of Belarus for Russia
1793	Second partition of Poland; central Belarus transferred to the Russian Empire
1795	Third partition of Poland; the remainder of Belarus joined with Russia
1812	Napoleonic Wars bring devastation to Belorussian territory
1861	Serfs are emancipated
1863	K. Kalinowski leads peasant uprising
1898	Congress to form the Russian Social-Democratic Workers' Party in Minsk is the first

		attempt to establish the Marxist party in Russia
1902		The Belorussian Socialist Hramada was founded; it supported Belorussian independence
1915		Western Belarus is occupied by Germany
1917		Nationalist council, the Rada, established. Rada declares Belorussian independence
1919	January 1	Founding of the Belorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, but the Russo-Polish War leaves uncertainty over control of the territory
1921	March 18	Treaty of Riga divides Belarus between the USSR and Poland; borders are the same as following the first Polish partition
1924		Regions of Polatsk, Visebsk, Orsha, and Mahilyou added to Belarus
1926		Homel region added to Belarus
1939		Molotov-Ribbentrop agreement gives Belarus to the USSR
1941-44		Belarus under German occupation; industry and agriculture ruined by the war
1945		Treaty following World War II gives all but the Bialystok region to the USSR
1986	April	Chernobyl nuclear explosion near Kiev, Ukraine; fallout hits much of Belarus
1986	December	The nationalist club *Spadcyna* ("Heritage") is suppressed
1989	January	Belorussian youth groups are blocked from organizing a conference in Minsk; Belorussians are present at a meeting of non-Russian national-democratic movements in Vilnius
	February	Over 50,000 people attend a rally in Minsk organized by the Renewal Belorussian Popular Front for Perestroika; the Belorussian national flag and symbol are displayed
1990	March 4	Nonpartisan elections for local and legislative offices; Zenon Poznyak, nationalist leader, is elected to the Belorussian Supreme Soviet
1991	March 17	Belorussians vote in the Soviet referendum on preserving the Union
	August 25	Belorussian parliament votes for declaration of independence as response to power struggle in Moscow
	October 4	Belarus agrees to join a Soviet economic union
	December 8	Chairman of the Belorussian Supreme Soviet, Stanislau Shushkevich, along with Russian President Yeltsin and Ukrainian President Kravchuk declare in Minsk that the USSR no longer exists and that a new "Commonwealth of Independent States" (CIS) has been established
	December 10	Belorussian parliament ratifies the commonwealth agreement
1992	January 6	Popular Front of Belarus forms a 100-member committee to discuss whether to dissolve the communist-dominated Supreme Soviet and hold parliamentary elections
	February 13	Belorussian Central Electoral Commission approves plans to collect signatures calling for a popular referendum

	April 24	Parliament votes to end its six-week-old session, apparently in order to avoid having to decide on holding a popular referendum on disbanding the parliament
	April 28	Defense Minister Pavel Kozlovsky reports that the last tactical nuclear weapons on Belorussian territory have been transferred to Russia
	May 4	Various media sources report the outbreak of at least 100 fires in areas contaminated by the Chernobyl accident
	May 18	Russia agrees to sell oil to Belarus for no more than 2500-2600 rubles per ton, with the probable result that Belarus will not experience the kind of runaway inflation expected if Russia were to insist on free market prices
	May 25	The Belorussian ruble is introduced ahead of schedule when the National Bank of Belarus uses it to make payments
	May 28	The opposition faction in Parliament, and several democratic political parties, call for an international tribunal to pass judgment on communist crimes against humanity
	June 23	Belarus signs a friendship treaty with Poland to secure common borders and to guarantee the rights of Belorussian minorities in Poland and those of Polish minorities in Belarus
	July 27	First Deputy Prime Minister Mikhail Myasnikovik announces that Belarus will export surplus arms, but not nuclear arms systems
	August 5	Belorussian leaders sign a contract with an American company to destroy ammunition belonging to the former Soviet Union but still on Belorussian soil
	August 7	Defense Minister Kozlovsky is quoted as saying that all officers and warrant officers in the Belorussian armed forces have the right to choose a state to which they will pledge their allegiance for further military service, before they take an oath of enlistment
	September 24	President Stanislau Shushkevich requests an acceleration of the removal of nuclear weapons
	September 29	The Orthodox Church concludes celebrations of its 1,000 year anniversary in Belarus
	October 1	Belarus replaces the ruble with a special coupon system in areas near the Lithuanian and Ukrainian border areas
	October 16	Two Lieutenant Generals are dismissed for "abuse of power" and "failure to manage military power"
	October 21	The Supreme Soviet ratifies the Conventional Forces in Europe (CFE) Treaty, an agreement that would set limits on five categories of conventional weapons in Europe and allow Belarus to retain 1800 tanks, 2000 armored vehicles, and 130 combat aircraft
	October 22	Belorussian leaders sign nuclear agreements with the U.S. asking for assistance for the removal and disposal of nuclear weapons
	October 26	Belarus calls for all citizens of Belarus serving in the military in the Baltics, the Caucasus, or in Central Asia to return to Belarus by January 1, 1993
	November 5	32 lawmakers from the opposition party the Belorussian Popular Front issue a statement calling for a boycott of certain actions of the parliament
	November 10	Food coupons are extended to cover all food, tobacco, and alcoholic beverages
1993	January 20	Officials announce that on February 1, new regulations on the export and import of currency will come into force in Belarus, limiting the amount of Belorussian rubles that can be taken out of the country
	January 25	Parliament approves a conservative economic program aimed at the preservation of controls on markets
	January 28	Parliament rejects a plan to distribute to Belorussian citizens privatization vouchers which would entitle all citizens to a stake in the state enterprises
	February 4	Parliament ratifies the START-1 Treaty The Supreme Soviet repeals a resolution of August 1991 suspending the activities of the Communist Party in the Republic

GEORGIA

Area: 26,900 sq. miles (69,700 sq. km.)
Population: 5,476,000
Capital: Tbilisi (1,264,000)
Official Language: Georgian
Religion: Georgian Orthodox majority

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Table 1. Georgian writing system

Georgian letter	Latin transliteration[1]	Cyrillic transliteration	Georgian letter	Latin transliteration[1]	Cyrillic transliteration
ა	a	а	ს	s	с
ბ	b	б	ტ	t	т'
გ	g	г	უ	u	у
დ	d	д	ფ	p'	п
ე	e	э	ქ	k'	к
ვ	v	в	ღ	g	ғ
ზ	z	з	ყ	q	қ
თ	t	т	შ	sh	ш
ი	i	и	ჩ	ch'	ч
კ	k'	к'	ც	c'	ц
ლ	l	л	ძ	z	дз
მ	m	м	წ	c	ц'
ნ	n	н	ჭ	ch	ч'
ო	o	о	ხ	x	х
პ	p'	п'	ჯ	j	дж
ჟ	zh	ж	ჰ	h	h
რ	r	р			

[1] Newest Library of Congress system modified to eliminate diacritical marks

I. ALPHABET AND LANGUAGE

The Georgian writing system is an independent writing system serving only the Georgian language. The origin of the alphabet dates to the third century BC, and shows influence from the eastern Aramaic writing system and the Greek alphabet. The shape and size of the letters have changed during the development of Georgian. The modern Georgian writing system was finalized in 1709 after the introduction of book printing. It consists of 33 symbols and does not regularly use capital letters.

II. GEOGRAPHY

Georgia is located in the central western part of the Transcaucasia and borders Turkey, Armenia, Azerbaijan and the Russian republic. It includes the Abkhaz and the Adzhur Autonomous republics and the South-Ossetian Autonomous Oblast. The Georgian republic is bounded by the Greater Caucasus in the north, by the Lesser Caucasus in the south and by the Black Sea in the West. While most of the region enjoys a warm, humid subtropic climate, the eastern portion is much drier.

In 1992 the ethnic composition of Georgia was: 69% Georgian, 9% Armenian, 5% Azeri, 3% South Ossetian and 2% Abkhazian. The Adzurians are Muslim Georgians.

III. HISTORY

The Georgian state first appeared in the 4th century BC after the destruction of the Persian Empire. Beginning with the 6th century AD Georgia was involved in the Persian-Byzantine struggle and was independent only for short periods. In the 7th century an emirate was established in Tbilisi, as a result of Arab invasion, and it was not until the 11th century that the local Bagrat dynasty managed to restore the unity of the country. The Turks temporarily ended Georgian independence until David II, The Restorer, liberated Georgia in 1122 and soon extended its borders.

The Mongols under Genghis-Khan conquered Georgia in 1236. After only a brief period of independence, Georgia was again conquered by Timur in 1386. In the beginning of the 15th century Georgia again unsuccessfully attempted to build a united independent country, only to be divided by Mongols into several principalities. In 1586 the Georgian King, besieged by Mongols, requested acceptance as a Russian vassal state, which it was, nominally, though too far away to really be protected. By 1639 these principalities were divided between Persian and Turkish domination. While Georgia looked to Russia for assistance in escaping Persian and Turkish rule, between 1801 and 1878 Russia had incorporated all of the Georgian principalities into its empire.

Nationalist movements soon developed in Georgia. The social-democratic group called "Mesame-Dasi" was organized with its right wing run by Joseph Stalin (an ethnic Georgian) and others. The 1917 Russian Revolution led to the formation of an independent

Transcaucasian Federation including Georgia, Armenia and Azerbaijan. This united state soon collapsed, an independent Georgia was established in 1918 and was governed by Menshevik leaders. Georgia was again incorporated into the USSR in March 1921 first as a separate republic and in December 1922 as part of the Transcaucasian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic.

The Bolsheviks never gained strong support in Georgia because of the invasion in 1921, so the new Soviet government faced a severe ideological struggle. As a consequence of years of fighting the Georgians also faced an uphill battle in reconstructing their industrial base which by 1921 was producing at 13.8% of its 1913 level. Industrial recovery during the 1920s was slow.

In 1921 the Bolsheviks introduced a land reform in Georgia, a predominantly rural republic. The reform produced a limited early response primarily because of the high population density, but by 1926 agricultural production had regained 85.5% of its 1913 levels.

Georgia was not spared the tragedies of the collectivization campaign of 1928-32 and the 1936-38 political purge. By 1930 92.3% of Georgian farms were collectivized. During the 1930s Georgia experienced a rapid industrialization similar to the rest of the Soviet Union. By 1940 industrial output had increased to 670 times its 1928 level. Industrialization brought an end to unemployment and massive urbanization which continues until today. Georgian political leaders purged as was the 1934 cultural intelligentsia in 1934. In 1936 the Transcaucasian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic was split into separate republics, one of which was Georgia.

Despite the destruction of rural life in the 1930s and strict Soviet policies Georgian national culture has continued to thrive. Its population is literate in the Georgian language and well-aware of its national history. National resistance was manifested briefly in 1956 in opposition to Khrushchev's denunciation of Stalin. It was not until Tbilisi demonstrators in 1978 demanded that the state language be changed to Georgian that resistance began to develop.

The Gorbachev Period. Perestroika was slow to enter Georgia primarily because of Dzhumber Patiashvili, the man who replaced Edward Shevardnadze as the First Secretary of the Georgian Communist Party in 1985. Some signs of perestroika were visible. The party's daily newspaper began to run a series of investigations on the corrupt activities of the Ministry of the Interior (MVD) in 1986. The screening of Tenzig Abuladze's controversial film, *Repentance*, opened up a reevaluation of Georgia's history by discussing Stalin's crimes.

In 1987 opposition began to organize around several issues. One was the devastating condition of the environment and the continuing destruction of it by Soviet industrial practices. Another was the Soviet destruction of national monuments, especially those that would be destroyed by the proposed Caucasian railroad. In addition dissidents called for an increase in Georgian national tradition and a review of history.

During 1988 many resistance movements organized and coordinated their demands and by the end of 1988 demonstrations had increased both in size and frequency, and issues began to broaden. Complaints were voiced about the Abkhaz Autonomous Republic and the increasing Azeri population in south-west Georgia. In March 1989 the ethnic tension between the Abkhaz and Georgians became violent.

On May 26, 1991 Zviad Gamsakhurdia was elected president of Georgia winning 86.5% of the vote, making him the first directly elected leader of a Soviet republic. Opposition to the Georgian government itself grew during 1991 and in September rebel forces called for the removal of president Gamsakhurdia. After two weeks in hiding Gamsakhurdia fled the country on January 6, 1992. A provisional government was consequently established Georgia is still not a member of the Commonwealth of Independent States.

IV. GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS

Upon incorporation into the USSR, the Georgian government followed a traditional Soviet governmental system. Because the Bolsheviks never achieved strong support in Georgia, however, opposition political forces came into existence much earlier in Georgia than in much of the rest of the USSR. From 1921-25 Georgian political forces caused much disturbance in Moscow. A debate between the "national deviationists" and the Caucasian Buro, two Georgian national movements led to the initial incorporation of Georgia in the Transcaucasian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic. The Soviet defeat of the popular uprising in August 1924 temporarily brought about an end to Georgian political resistance. The 1936 Soviet constitution established Georgia as a separate Soviet Socialist Republic (SSR) but did nothing to increase Georgian autonomy.

In 1987 several prominent dissidents formed the Ilia Tchavtchavadze Society as the first organized opposition in Georgia. The group insisted that matters concerning Georgia be determined by the Georgian people. Its members also supported the renew of the Georgian language and traditions. Independence was only a very long-term goal. In 1988, however, many more radical movements developed all of whom wanted nothing to do with the central Soviet authorities.

The March 1989 elections to the USSR Congress of People's Deputies illustrate how little the political climate in Georgia had changed. 57% of the constituencies had only one candidate and officials claimed that there was a 97% voter turnout. But in March 1990 the Supreme Soviet of Georgia passed a resolution denouncing the USSR's forced incorporation of the republic in 1921. And on October 28 Parliamentary elections were held in which all running parties, including the communist party, supported Georgian independence. The Opposition Georgian Round Table won 54% of vote and the communists finished second with 29%. In March 1991 Georgia boycotted

the all-Union referendum and on April 9 Georgia unanimously declared independence from the USSR.

The May 1991 presidential balloting resulted in the election of Gamsakhurdia, formerly a communist party head. But within months Georgians were dissatisfied with his government and on Sept 16 at least 10,000 people rallied in Tbilisi demanding his resignation. From September through December debates between those loyal to Gamsakhurdia and rebel factions trying to remove him continued. On December 24 rebels took control of the government communication building and Gamsakhurdia went into hiding in a bunker beneath the parliament building. During the next weeks over 50 people were killed in shooting. On January 6, 1992 Gamsakhurdia fled the parliament building. A provisional government was put in place following the ouster of Gamsakhurdia. The coup was organized by the Military Council, headed by Tengiz Kitovani and Dzhaba Ioseliani. The Military Council reinstated the opposition leader Tengiz Sigua in the position of Prime Minister. In March, various ad hoc ruling structures were consolidated into the State Council. The former Soviet foreign minister, Eduard Shevardnadze, was named to head the Council making him effectively the head of state. Elections for Parliament were conducted on October 11, 1992. Eduard Shevardnadze was elected Chairman of the parliament. Prime Minister Tengiz Sigua, Militia Leader Dzhaba Ioseliani, and Defense Minister Tengiz Kitovani were all elected to their posts as independent candidates. No longer participating in Georgian politics, ousted president Gamsakhurdia has become a key figure in the secessionist republics, especially Abkhazia.

Civil War in Georgia. Over the past several years, Georgia has been engaged in hostilities with two of its major territories, South Ossetian Autonomous Oblast (in the North) and the Abkhaz Autonomous Republic (in the North West). Both regions renewed assertions of independence in the late Soviet period, 1989 in North Ossetia and 1990 in Abkhazia. The South Ossetians are currently seeking union with North Ossetia and incorporation into Russia. This has met with firm resistance from Georgian military units resulting in loss of life and devastation of the region. Though fighting was most intense in 1991, sporadic violence continued through 1992. Though denied by the Georgian government, Abkhazia has declared itself a sovereign state. The republic, along with other Caucasian territories, has periodically served as a refuge for Gamsakhurdia. During 1992, Georgian military forces have invaded Abkhazia on various pretenses. In August, the Georgian army took the capital of Abkhazia, Sukhumi, and stormed the parliament building. Several cease fires, some brokered by the Russians, between the Georgians and the Abkhaz have been achieved but have not held for long. Fighting has continued in Sukhumi and other cities in the republic.

V. ECONOMY

Although agricultural land is both in short supply and difficult to work, the subtropic climate in Georgia provides a suitable environment for crops like tea and citrus. The region also produces tobacco, almonds, wine, silk, and other fruits and vegetables. Sheep and goat are raised in the mountainous pastures. During the 1920s and 1930s Georgia followed the fate of the rest of the USSR, enduring first the collectivization of agriculture and then rapid industrialization. Industry developed only during the Soviet period and included hydroelectric stations, coal mines, oil refineries, metallurgy, and machine-building. Difficult political conditions and civil war in 1992 have resulted in an economic tailspin including declines in industrial output, high inflation, and a drop in living standards. Georgia decided not to join the CIS which has resulted in trade conflicts with other former Soviet republics. Progress has been made in privatization reforms especially with respect to agricultural land and housing. Price liberalization, and monetary expansion have resulted in huge increases in wholesale and retail prices.

VI. RELIGION

Christianity was introduced in the 4th century AD and since the 5th century the Georgian Church has been separate from the Byzantine Church. A small percentage of the population residing in Georgia, the Adzhurians, are Muslim.

VII. CHRONOLOGY

4th cent BC	Georgian state first formed
4th cent AD	Christianity is introduced in Georgia
7th cent	Arab invasion - emirate established in Tiflis
1122	David II, The Restorer liberates Tiflis and extends Georgian borders
1236	Mongols (under Genghis-Khan) conquer Georgia
1386	Timur conquers Tiflis
15th cent	Georgia attempts independence from Mongols; land divided into several principalities
1639	Kartlia and Kakhetia under Persian protectorate while the rest of Georgia is under Turkish domination
1801	Kartlia and Kakhetia incorporated into the Russian Empire
1810-1878	Russians take over the rest of the Georgian principalities
1893	Development of nationalist movements; the social-democratic group "Mesame-Dasi" organized

6 GEORGIA

1898		The extremist wing of the "Mesame-Dasi" formed by I.V. Dzhugashvili (Joseph Stalin), and others
1917		Russian revolution; formation of the independent Transcaucasian Federation (Georgia, Armenia and Azerbaijan)
1918		Break-up of Transcaucasian Federation; New Menshevik Georgian government formed by Zhordania
1920	May 7	Lenin signs a treaty renouncing Soviet Russia's claim to Georgian territory
1921	February 11	Red Army invades Georgian territory
	March	After facing Soviet and Turkish invasion, Georgia incorporated into USSR with present-day borders
1922	December	Transcaucasian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic formed (Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan)
1924		Unsuccessful anti-Soviet popular uprising led by K. Cholokashvili
1928-32		Collectivization campaign
1933-38		Political and cultural purge; majority of national political leaders, artists and writers sent into exile
1936	December	Georgia becomes a separate Soviet Socialist Republic when the Transcaucasian Socialist Soviet Republic is dissolved by the new Soviet constitution
1956		Georgians protest against Khrushchev's attack on Stalin (an ethnic Georgian); hundreds killed
1978		Demonstrators in Tbilisi demand the return of Georgian as the official state language; no violence occurs; opposition to Moscow grows from this time
1985		Dzhumber Patiashvili replaces Edward Shevardnadze, who was Gorbachev's Foreign Minister, as the First Secretary of the Georgian Communist Party
1986		Tengiz Abuladze's controversial film *Monanieba* (Repentance) was first screened in Georgia; the film discusses Stalin's legacies
1987	April	The Georgian Writers' Union paper, *Literaturuli Sakartvelo*, openly discussed issues raised by Georgian dissidents; The Ilia Tchavtchavadze Society formed
1988		Formation of other movements: the Georgian Helsinki Group, the National Democratic Party, the Georgian National Justice Union and the Georgian National Independence Party
	September	Series of demonstrations in Tbilisi; open meeting of dissidents at Tbilisi University
1989	February	Patiashvili attempts to reassert his diminished authority by warning on television that

		demonstrations planned to celebrate the anniversary of the Russian invasion would be forcibly dispersed; thousands gathered despite his bluff
	March	Elections to the USSR Congress of People's Deputies; 57% of the constituencies had only one candidate; 97% official voter turnout Abkhaz and Georgians begin to fight
	April	Anti-Abkhaz demonstration in Tbilisi turns into a peaceful pro-independence rally
	April 9	Patiashvili sends in airborne troops, special and regular Internal Ministry troops to disperse the crowd; 19 killed and more than 4,000 injured; Givi Gumbaridze succeeds Patiashvili as the Georgian first secretary
1990	March 9	Supreme Soviet of Georgia passes resolution denouncing USSR's forced incorporation of republic in 1921
	October 28	Parliamentary elections held; all running parties, including the Communist Party, support Georgian independence; Opposition Georgian Round Table wins 54% of vote; Communists finish second with 29%.
1991	March 17	Georgia boycotts the Soviet referendum on preserving the union
	March 31	Republic-wide referendum shows overwhelming support for independence; Threats of general strike if Moscow refuses to remove troops brought in to the republic to quell ethnic violence between Georgians and Ossetians
	April 9	Georgia unanimously declares independence from the USSR
	April 11	Workers begin a general strike
	April 16	Georgian party leader Zviad Gamsakhurdia orders government departments to cooperate with workers
	May 26	Gamsakhurdia elected president of Georgia winning 86.5% of the vote, making him the first directly elected leader of a Soviet republic
	Sept 16	At least 10,000 people rally in Tbilisi against president Gamsakhurdia, demanding his resignation
	Sept 22	Opposition forces, with the aid of deserters from the Georgian National Guard, seize the government broadcasting center in Tbilisi
	Sept 24	Gamsakhurdia declares a state-of-emergency
	Sept 25	Four people killed in a shoot-out between loyalists and rebels in Tbilisi
	Sept 29-30	Peace talks between the government and rebels fail
	October 4	Georgian officials do not attend the ceremony on the signing of a united economic plan
	October 6	Clashes in Tbilisi leave 2 dead and 74 injured; the parliament begins an emergency to decide how to handle the violence between those loyal to and those opposing Gamsakhurdia
	December 21	Georgia does not sign the CIS agreement and is therefore excluded from membership.
	December 22	Fighting breaks out in Tbilisi
	December 23	Approximately 30 are dead and 200 wounded in violence between Gamaskhurdia's forces and the opposition loyal to Prime Minister Tengis Sigua.
	December 24	Rebels take control of the government communication building
	December 25	Gamsakhurdia hides out in a bunker beneath the parliament building and vows to stay until death
	December 28	Rebel and loyal forces agree to temporarily cease fire and attempt talks to settle the dispute that had already killed at least 50 people since December 22
1992	January 2	The Military Council of Georgia assumes control over the state. Tengiz Sigua assumes the duties of ousted Prime Minister, Vissarion Gugushvili. Georgii Karakashvili is named military commander.

January 5	Former Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze calls on deposed president Gamsakhurdia to resign. Shevardnadze claims this will help to avoid further bloodshed.
January 6	Rebels storm the parliament building. Gamsakhurdia flees the parliament building and presumably goes to Armenia; a provisional government is established in Tbilisi.
January 7	Georgian Military Council gunmen fire on a crowd of 2,000-4,000 Gamsakhurdia supporters in Tblisi.
January 19	The Ossetian Population of South Ossetia votes for South Ossetian independence and union with Russia. The Georgian Military Council calls the referrendum a gross violation of Georgian sovereignty.
January 15	Gamsakhurdia returns from Armenia to the capital of Abkhazia, Sukhumi, in western Georgia.
January 16	From Zugdidi, Gamsakhurdia calls for the overthrow of the Military Council in Tblisi.
January 21	A cease fire agreement is reached between the Military Council and Gamsakhurdia's supporters but is immediately violated. Fighting occurs in various towns including the port city of Poti.
January 24	A state of emergency is declared in Abkhazia as violence in the area increases. Supporters of Gamsakhurdia are said to have blown up three bridges.
January 27	The Black Sea port of Poti is siezed by Military Council troops from Gamsakhurdia supporters.
February 3	Georgian Military Council troops take the Abkhaz capital Sukhumi.
February 15	Gamsakhurdia publicly states that he has no intention to resign claiming the majority of the Georgian population still supports him.
March 7	Eduard Shevardnadze arrives in Georgia for what he calls "an indefinite stay." He is greeted by two leaders of the forces which deposed Gamsakhurdia, Dzhaba Ioseliani and Tengiz Kitovani.
March 10	A joint meeting of Georgia's temporary ruling bodies, the Military Council and the Consultative Council, votes to dissolve the two bodies and create a new temporary executive and legislative body, the State Council. Eduard Shevardnadze is made head of the State Council.
March 23	Georgia is admitted to the Committee for Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) and is recognized by the United States, France, Germany, and Portugal.
March 28	Gamsakhurdia's supporters occupy several towns in western Georgia. The group's stronghold is in Zugdidi.
April 12	The State Council creates a 20,000 man army.
June 11	Twenty people are killed in fighting between Georgian forces and South Ossetian separatists in the capital of South Ossetia, Tskhinvali.
June 24	300 supporters of Gamsakhurdia attack a CIS military base and sieze the television tower in Tblisi. Georgian National Guard troops retake the tower later in the day.
June 25	Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Bulgaria, Greece, Moldova, Romania, Russia, Turkey, and Ukraine sign Declaration of Black Sea Economic Cooperation.
July 23	Georgia's Autonomous Repulic of Abkhazia declares itself a sovereign state, independent from Georgia. Two days later the Georgian State Council rules the declaration illegal, null, and void.
August 14	Approximately 19 are killed in Sukhumi in a conflict between Georgian National Guard troops and forces of the Abkhaz Interior Ministry. Georgian forces were occupying Abkhaz territory on the pretext of rescuing prisoners.
August 18	Georgian National Guard troops enter Sukhumi, the Abkhaz capital, with tanks and armored personnel carriers. The forces storm the parliamentary building killing five people. The State Council Chairman states that National Guard forces will hold the city.
August 21	The Confederation of Mountain Peoples--many of whose members are in the Russian

		Federation--call for armed resistance to Georgian agressors in Abkhazia. The action is condemned on August 25 by the Russian government as unconstitutional.
	Septmeber 3	A cease fire agreement in Abkhazia is signed between president Yeltsin of Russia, State Council Chairman Shevardnadze of Georgia, and Parliamentary leader Vladislav Ardzinka of Abkhazia.
	Sept. 11	Six representatives of the Georgian National Democratic Party are kidnapped by supporters of ousted president Gamsakhurdia in western Georgia.
	Sept. 12-13	Fighting between Georgians and Abkhazians continues despite cease fire agreement.
	Sept. 15	A new cease fire agreement is reached between Georgian and Abkhazian forces. The agreement was formulated by a tripartite commission made up of Russian, Georgian, and Abkhazian representatives.
	October 1	Abkhaz forces renew attacks on Georgian troops. Using tanks and rocket launchers the Abkhaz take the town of Kolichida. The following day they take the strategic town of Gagra. The action prompts a response from Shevardnadze who plans to mobilize 40,000 reservists and retake the town. Shevardnadze accuses the Russians of supplying Abkhaz forces with "ultra-modern" technology.
	October 7	Georgian security officials accuse Russia of airlifting military equipment out of Georgia. They also charge the Russians with supplying Abkhaz rebels with T72 and T80 tanks.
	October 8	The UN Security Council calls for an immediate halt to the fighting in Abkhazia and compliance with the September 3 cease fire agreement.
	October 11	National parliamentary elections are held. A reported 65% of eligible voters participate in the elections. No voting took place in Northern Abkhazia, North Ossetia, or in portions of Magrelia. 36 individual parties and 3 blocks representing 11 parties competed for 234 seats.
	October 12	Eduard Shevardnadze is elected Chairman of Georgia's parliament. Prime Minister Tengiz Sigua, Militia Leader Dzhaba Ioseliani, and Defense Minister Tengiz Kitovani are all elected as independent candidates.
	October 27	Results from the October 11 elections are confirmed. Four political blocks and 20 parties are now represented in the parliament. The Peace Block (Mshvidoba)--consisting of 7 parties--has the largest number of seats.
	November 3	Abkhaz forces battle Georgian troops in Sukhumi. Georgian troops are still in possession of the city.
	December 13	Georgian and Abkhaz leaders sign a cease fire agreement and agree to withdraw heavy weapons from the area of conflict by December 18.
1993	January 23	A gas pipeline in Georgia is cut, cutting Armenia's natural gas supply in half.

KAZAKHSTAN

Area: 1,049,100 sq. miles (2,717,000 sq. km.)
Population: 16,947,000 (40.8% Russian, 36% Kazakh, 6.1% Ukrainian, 2.1% Tatar)
Capital: Alma-Ata (1,068,00)
Official Language: Kazakh
Religion: Muslim and Russian Orthodox
Unit of currency: Ruble

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I. LANGUAGE AND ALPHABET

Kazakh belongs to the Kipchak group of Turkic languages. It is also spoken in China, Mongolia, Afghanistan, and Turkey. The Kazakhs are the second largest group of Turkic speakers in the CIS after the Uzbeks. The literary language was founded in the latter half of the 19th century. Kazakh was first written in Arabic script, then Latin, then Cyrillic as of 1940.

II. GEOGRAPHY

Kazakhstan is bounded by China on the east, Kyrgyzstan and Uzbekistan on the south, the Caspian Sea and Turkmenistan on the west, and Russia to the north. Lowlands compose one-third of the total area, hilly plains and plateaus-- one-half, and mountains-- one-fifth of the republic's territory. The lowest point in the CIS is in the Karagiye salt depression east of the Caspian Sea. The republic has many rivers which are part of the drainage system of the Caspian and Aral seas.

III. HISTORY

It is difficult to trace the separate presence of Kazakhs before the 15th century. They probably formed out of Kipchak tribes of the mongol Golden Horde. They consolidated in the 15-16th centuries and established a nomadic empire extending from the east of the Caspian to the Altai mountains. The khanate finally disintegrated into hordes which were ruled by local khans and were often attacked by Oyrat Mongols. These raids made the Kazakhs more vulnerable to the Russian advance as well.

The Tsarist advance began in the 18th century with the construction of Russian forts which offered protection to the Kazakhs from the Oyrats. By 1811 the Russians abolished the khanates. Large scale Russian peasant settlement has taken place since the late 19th century. A small nationalist movement arose in the early 20th century. A revolt against Russian domination was suppressed in 1916. In 1917 a nationalist government, the Alash Orda, formed but the Bolsheviks defeated the independence-minded Kazakhs along with the White Army in this area by 1920.

In 1920 the region was called the Kazakh Autonomous Socialist Republic. From 1927 on there was a rigorous Soviet campaign to settle the Kazakh nomads and colonize the area with Russians and Ukrainians. By 1936 the area became a full-fledged Soviet republic. During WWII, a Kazakh was appointed secretary of the Kazakh Communist Party but was replaced by Leonid Brezhnev, a Russian, in 1954 because of the former's resistance to the Virgin Lands campaign. Imposed by the central government, the 1950's campaign greatly increased the importance of agriculture in the republic by bringing over 100,000,000 acres in northern Kazakhstan into cultivation. Under Brezhnev, central Kazakhstan was selected as the site for the cosmodrome from which space vehicles are launched. Under Gorbachev, President Nazarbaev--previously first secretary of the Communist Party--sought to win greater republican control over Kazakhstan's rich resources. At the same time Nazarbaev succeeded in preserving economic ties to the union by allying himself with Gorbachev. In December 1991 the republic became independent although it elected to join the Commonwealth.

IV. GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS

The highest governing body of the republic, the Supreme Soviet, had no real power until 1990. Political life was formerly determined by communist authorities in Moscow through the Communist Party of Kazakhstan (whose membership included mostly Russians and non-Kazakhs members). The republic declared its independence from the former Soviet Union in December 1991 and held its first direct presidential election in the same month. Nursultan Nazarbaev ran and won on a non-party ticket as the Kazakh Communist Party had been discredited. The republic is a member of the CIS, and Nazarbaev has been a prominent leader in CIS politics.

The current Kazakh government is considered conservative because most of its members are former communists. The most influential political group in the country is the restructured communist party known as the Socialist Party of Kazakhstan. A law introduced in 1989 making Kazakh the official state language was initially met with anxiety by the Russian population--currently only slightly smaller in size than the Kazakh population; each make up approximately 40% of the population. No recent signs of resistance to the law have been apparent, however, and the Russian minority does not seem dissatisfied with Kazakh independence. Laws adopted since independence on citizenship, freedom of religion, and education have stressed the nation's multinational character and the importance of treating all ethnic groups equally.

Some observers claim Kazakhstan's chances for becoming a democratic society are enhanced by democratic traditions remaining from the culture's nomadic past. Political liberalization has progressed since independence, but President Nazarbaev has held onto his powers tightly. Kazakhstan's nationalists are represented by the Islamic movement, Alash. President Nazarbaev has harshly criticized the group as a destabilizing force in society, calling them "fascists." He has been adamant in countering groups that threaten to increase tensions between Russians and Kazakhs.

A critical issue for Kazakhstan's foreign relations has been the country's nuclear weapons. Over one hundred SS-18 intercontinental ballistic missiles are currently based in Kazakhstan. The missiles are now under joint CIS command. Kazakhstan's government has ratified START-1 but not the nuclear non-proliferation treaty. The leadership is considering retaining the missiles but transferring their control to Russia.

V. ECONOMY

Kazakhstan previously was strongly associated with the development of chemical, nuclear, and ballistics weapons. Weapons testing there and in nearby China contributed to public health problems among the Kazakhs. The republic is allowing foreigners to place bids on its stock of conventional weapons and it plans to sell uranium abroad in accordance with international regulations. Kazakhstan is also a major supplier of raw materials to other parts of the CIS. The republic boasts a highly developed industry and mechanized agriculture. Lake Balkhash and the Caspian Sea provide fish for a canning industry. The powerful Kazakh industrial complex is run by Russians and other Slavs. The Kazakh population for the most part is engaged in the agricultural sector: sheep raising, grain, fruit, and vegetable growing.

Kazakhstan is rich in mineral deposits, iron ore, lead, copper, and coal. Its most valuable natural resources are the large oil deposits concentrated in the Tengiz oil fields near the Caspian Sea. In May 1992, President Nazarbaev signed a 40 year contract with Chevron Corporation for the

exploitation of these deposits. Kazakhstan's oil may give it a better chance for economic success than most of the former Soviet republics.

Economic reforms since the nation's independence have proceeded cautiously. The emphasis of the government's reform program has been on the privatization of state property. Laws have been enacted to privatize both large and small state enterprises, but the greatest progress has been made with the latter. A major obstacle to progress has been an excess of bureaucracy at every level. Housing is being successfully privatized but individual ownership of land remains a controversial issue. Other economic reforms such as price liberalization, introduced in January 1992, have met with public protest. Workers have counteracted price increases by successfully obtaining concessions for wage increases from the government.

VI. RELIGION

As of March 1992, the Spiritual Directorate of Central Asia and Kazakhstan in Tashkent maintains official authority over Muslims. The majority of mosques in Central Asia are located in Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan. Sufis are active in the republic. See the religion section for the CIS for more general information.

VII. CHRONOLOGY

1534	First mention of Kazakhs living in Central Asia in Russian chronicle.
15-16 cc	Kazakhs consolidate nomadic empire.
17th cc	Kazakhs decline under depredations of Oyrat empire.
1716	Russian expansion into area begins.
1731-42	All three Kazakh hordes accept Russian protection.
1822-48	Abolition of hordes by Russians meets resistance.
1854	Verny (Alma-Ata) founded.
1905	Kazakh deputies elected to first and second dumas (Russian parliament); Orenburg-Tashkent railroad completed; Russian colonization continues.
1916	Kazakh revolt against tsarist authority is brutally suppressed.
1917	Kazakh leaders organize independent state on Western models.
1919	Red Army enters region.
1920	Soviet autonomous republic established.
1925	Bolsheviks effectively control republic.
1930	Turkestan Siberian railway completed; Ukrainian and Russian colonization increases.
1936	Kazakhstan becomes union republic.
1954	Kazakh first secretary of communist party replaced by Leonid Brezhnev.

1954-56		Large influx of Russians and Ukrainians in Virgin Lands campaign.
1960-62		Three territorial divisions formed (Western Kazakhstan, Southern Kazakhstan, and the Virgin Lands).
1986	December 16	Kazakh party chief Kunaev succeeded by Russian Kolbin.
	December 18	Nationalist riots in Alma-Ata in wake of above event.
1989	June	Youths go on rampage against Caucasian immigrants accused of taking Kazakh jobs.
1991	March 1	Coal strike by miners in Kazakhstan spreads to all coal mining parts of Soviet Union. Free elections for union president among demands.
	July 30	Nazarbaev only republican president who joins Gorbachev's meeting with Bush.
	August 20	Nazarbaev backs Yeltsin in coup.
	August 22	Nazarbaev resigns from Politburo and orders party officials out of workplaces.
	August 24	Nazarbaev bans all communist, KGB, and Interior Ministry activities in republic.
	August 26	Republican leaders agree to sign new union treaty.
	August 27	Nazarbaev says confederation must be based on economic ties only.
	August 29	Border dispute with Russian republic; Nazarbaev threatens secession, closes Semipalatinsk nuclear testing site.
	September 4	Azat (Freedom) organization declares itself the 4th non-communist political party in Kazakhstan.
	September 15	U.S. Secretary of State James Baker arrives to discuss economic issues and is impressed with Nazarbaev's role in trying to hold the Soviet Union together.
	October 9	New party, the Popular Congress of Kazakhstan, declared.
	October 15	Nazarbaev invited to US.
	October 24	Kazakh writer, Alimzhanov, nominated to head Council of Republics.
	October 30	Kazakhstan plans own currency.
	November 18	Harvest failure announced; may force purchase of grain abroad.
	November 26	Union treaty fails to be ratified.
	December 1	Nazarbaev elected in republic's first direct presidential election, announces plans for radical market reforms.
	December 9	President meets with Gorbachev and Yeltsin about new commonwealth, Nazarbaev expresses support for Gorbachev and union.
	December 16	Kazakhstan declares independence stresses inviolability its borders.
	December 17	Republic considers but does not sign nuclear non-proliferation treaty with Ukraine and Belarus. President Nazarbaev says Kazakhstan will keep nuclear weapons as long as Russia does.
	December 21	Kazakhstan and other Central Asian republics join Commonwealth of Independent States.
1992	January 4	Kazakhstan requests UN membership.
	January 6	Retail prices freed.
	January 9	Miners strike for higher wages in wake of price increases.
	January 25	Nazarbaev says medium range missiles being removed from Kazakhstan and republic not exporting nuclear weapons and technology to Arab states.
	January 27	Presidential decree permits individuals and enterprises to engage in foreign trade without government permission and to open hard currency accounts.
	January 30	Kazakhstan admitted as member of Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.
	February 3	First foreign embassy (US) in Kazakhstan opens in Alma-Ata.
	February 8	Kazakhstan, Belarus, Russia, and Ukraine participate in the XVI Winter Olympic Games in Albertville France under the "Unified Team" banner.
	February 16	Nazarbaev says removal of all tactical and strategic nuclear weapons from republic contingent on like action by US, CIS, and China.
	February 18	Contract for joint Kazakh-French exploration of petroleum in West Kazakhstan signed with French oil company Elf.
	May 7	Kazakhstan forms an army independent of joint CIS command.

	May 18	President Nazarbaev signs an agreement with Chevron Corporation to develop the Tengiz and Korolev oil fields over the next 40 years. Tengiz holds an estimated 25 billion barrels of oil.
	May 18	President Nazarbaev says Kazakhstan will sign the Nuclear non-proliferation Treaty as a non-nuclear state. On the following day in Washington, DC, Nazarbaev commits his country to becoming nuclear free by the year 2000.
	May 23	Belarus, Kazakhstan, Ukraine, and Russia formally commit themselves to the terms of the 1991 START Treaty in a meeting with the US Secretary of State James Baker in Lisbon. All five countries must ratify the treaty in order for it to take effect.
	June 2	The Kazakh Supreme Soviet adopts a draft constitution. The document makes Kazakh the official language and guarantees political pluralism.
	June 17	A demonstration of 5,000 people made up of members of various opposition groups takes place in front of the parliament building in Alma Ata. The group calls for resignation of the government and parliamentary deputies from the Communist Party.
	August 18	President Nazarbaev announces the creation of border troops for Kazakhstan.
	August 20	Russian and Kazakh officials agree to keep existing strategic nuclear weapons based in Kazakhstan.
	October 31	At a meeting of heads of state from Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Turkmenstan, Uzbekistan, and Turkey, an agreement to strengthen economic ties between the countries is signed.
	November 12	The Kazakh Prime Minister Sergei Tereshchenko announced suspension of the country's privatization program. He cited the difficulty of appraising property values under conditions of high inflation as the primary cause.
1993	January 31	President Nazarbaev announces Kazakhstan's actions to seek observer status with OPEC.

KYRGYZSTAN

Area: 76,000 sq. miles (198,500 sq.km.)
Population: 3,967,000 (40.7% Kyrgyz, 22% Russian, 10.3% Uzbek, 2.6% Ukrainian, 1.7% Tatar)
Capital: Bishkek (formerly Frunze) (604,000 pop.)
Official Language: Kyrgyz
Religion: Muslim
Unit of Currency: Ruble

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I. ALPHABET AND LANGUAGE

Kyrgyz is spoken also in Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, Kazakhstan, China, and Afghanistan. Kyrgyz belongs to the Kipchak group of Turkic languages. It possesses three distinct dialects. It became a written language only after 1917. Its alphabet is based on the Russian alphabet. Until 1926 the Kyrgyz used Arabic script and until 1940, Latin. Since then, Cyrillic has been employed. A transition to the Latin alphabet is again underway.

II. GEOGRAPHY

This is an extremely mountainous republic. To the east is China, to the south are the mountain ranges of Tajikistan, to the north is Kazakhstan, and to the southwest is Uzbekistan. Most of the borders are on mountain crests. A few short rivers pour down from mountain basins. The Naryn River which runs into the Fergana Valley is most important.

III. HISTORY

The origin of the Kyrgyz people is not fully known but they probably emerged after the arrival of the Karakitay (meaning Black Chinese) in Kyrgyzstan in the 12th century. This Mongol people came to the area from the upper Yenisey. Until the early 19th century, the Kyrgyz were primarily nomadic. In the latter half of the 19th century, the Kyrgyz were conquered by Russians. The best Kyrgyz land was given to Russian settlers, causing a bloody revolt in 1910. In response, Russian settlers massacred local Kyrgyz populations and the Russian army suppressed the uprising. One-third of the Kyrgyz population fled to China. Before 1917, the Kyrgyz were not recognized as a national group. After the 1917 revolution, many guerilla revolts were waged against the Soviet regime and all were suppressed. In 1936, Kyrgyzstan officially became a republic. During WWII there was a great influx of Russians to Frunze. This resettlement was linked to the transfer of industrial plants from western areas threatened with enemy occupation. Kyrgyzstan has traditionally been very isolated. Until very recently, Bishkek was not accessible to visitors and tourists. Economic problems have caused some ethnic conflicts, such as that between Uzbeks and Kyrgyz in 1990.

IV. GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS

Until recently, the governmental structure of Kyrgyzstan was the same as that of the other Central Asian republics. The Kyrgyz were always a minority in the Communist Party. In the 1980's, many nationalist social and political groups like Ashar formed in opposition to the Communist Party. Recently, Communist Party property has been nationalized. In August 1991 the republic declared its independence from the Soviet Union and in December of the same year it joined the CIS. The republic's government is made up of a president who is advised by the Presidential Council, a Supreme Soviet of 350 deputies, and a Cabinet of Ministers. There are five political parties active in Kyrgyzstan.The president is Askar Akaev. Kyrgyzstan is the only Central Asian republic which has really shaken the control of the communist party.

V. ECONOMY

Formerly, the republic was agriculturally oriented and stock raising was important. Agriculture still accounts for one-third of the Kyrgyz economy. The two main products are livestock and grain.In the 20th century Kyrgyzstan was found to be a source of nonferrous metals and Soviet planners introduced a machinery industry and hydroelectric power. The republic is rich in minerals and has large coal reserves. Coal mining is a very important industry. Recently, irrigation has enabled cotton growing. In 1992 the republic signed trade agreements with other Muslim states (Iran, Turkey) and with Cuba.Kyrgyzstan is the second poorest republic in the CIS.The average monthly wage in Kyrgyzstan was 1,800 rubles in 1992.

The government expected to privatize 35% of the economy by the end of 1992.

VI. RELIGION

Many of the Kyrgyz profess to be Sunni Muslims. See Russia religion section for general information.

VII. CHRONOLOGY

12th century		Turks dominate the Tien Shan mountain range (Kyrgyzstan); Karakitays arrive in the area with Yenisey peoples who are the probable ancestors of the Kyrgyz
12-19th century		Kyrgyz nomads preserve tribal independence
Late 19th century		Russian colonization
1916		Unsuccessful Kyrgyz revolt against Tsarist rule and settlements
1924		Kyrgyzstan becomes autonomous oblast of Russian republic
1926		Kyrgyzstan becomes autonomous republic
Late 20's		Collectivization and forced abandonment of nomadic way of life
1936		Kyrgyzstan becomes a republic of the Soviet Union
1937		Stalin launches political purge; Kyrgyz Prime minister and chairman of planning commission among victims of efforts to neutralize ethnic initiative and preserve dominance from center
1985	November	First secretary of Kyrgyz Communist Party accused of corruption and removed by central authorities
1986	October	Clash in Frunze between local youths and foreign students
Late 80's		Many informal social and political groups spring up to oppose the communist party
1990		Askar Akaev elected president by the Supreme Soviet at the instigation of the Kyrgyzstan Democratic movement
	June 5-15	Fighting breaks out between Kyrgyz and uzbeks in the city of Osh in the Fergana Valley over a land dispute; 36 killed, 350 wounded in early fighting;
	June 19	TASS reports death toll of 186 in Osh incident

1991	April	Akaev reforms local government to by-pass conservative communists; Absamat Masaliev, hard-line First Secretary of the Sommunist Party, replaced; leaves republic
	August 23	Kyrgyz President Askar Akaev nationalizes the Communist Party Central Committee building
	August 25	Kyrgyz Central Committee dissolved; Akaev takes most forceful steps against coup of all Central Asian leaders; Akaev fires KGB chief
	August 26	Republican leaders agree to sign new union treaty
	August 31	Kyrgyzstan declares independence
	September 23	Akaev announces opposition to economic union
	October 12	Akaev wins direct presidential election
	October 24	Akaev visits Washington
	November 14	Sweeping land reform introduced
	November 23	Gorbachev visits Kyrgyzstan in effort to gain union support
	November 26	Union treaty fails to be ratified
	December	Kyrgyz National Guard set up, 600 members
	December 8	Central TV reports severe energy crisis in republic
	December 13	Kyrgyzstan joins Commonwealth of Independent States
	Decomber 22	Akaev visits Turkey, signs economic, diplomatic, cultural agreements
1992	January 2	Retail prices deregulated
	January 10	Kyrgyzstan applies for UN membership
	January 20	Republic signs five-year trade accord with Cuba
	January 30	Republic admitted as member of Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe
	February 1	First foreign embassy (U.S.) opens in Bishkek
	February 11	Akaev cuts ministries by half, abolishes vice-presidency, makes government subordinate to himself
	February 17	Kyrgyzstan joins Economic Cooperation Organization of Muslim states (inc. Turkey, Iran, and CIS Central Asian republics); ECO agrees to set up development bank and to cooperate in modernization of transportation, communication, industry,and agriculture
	February 27	Akaev speaks out about need to improve information sources throughout CIS, proposing a "unified information space"
	March 18	Akaev offers to sell enriched uranium to India at press conference in New Delhi
	April 23	Summit meeting of presidents of Kazakstan, Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, and Kyrgyzstan
	April 28	Turkish Prime Minister Demirel visits Bishkek, promises $75 million in export credits to Kyrgyzstan
	May 11	Kyrgyzstan requests 1.5 billion rubles in assistance from Russia so it can pay wages and pensions
	May 12-17	Akaev makes official visit to China to develop trade contacts
	May 30	Democratic Congress of Central Asia holds second congress in Bishkek, demand withdrawal of CIS forces from Central Asia, claiming that they serve only Russian interests
	June 1	Akaev issues decree nationalizing all military units stationed on Kyrgyz territory
	June 29	Protestors in Bishkek demand Akaev's resignation and direct popular elections for president
	September 1	Price liberalization introduced; citizens demonstrate against increases
	October 13	Akaev refutes earlier reports that Kyrgyz will withdraw from the CIS
1993	January	President Akaev visits Israel
	January 9	Restrictions placed on travel to Osh region to prevent weapons and drugs going into the area which is still under a state of emergency
	January 26	Kyrgyz businessmen propose cultivation of opium poppies to save the economy
	February 27	First Congress of Democratic Forces in Bishkek, representatives of ten parties meet

MOLDOVA

Area: 13,000 sq. miles
Population: 4,372,000
Capital: Chişinău
Language: Romanian
Religion: Orthodoxy
Unit of Currency: Leu

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I. ALPHABET AND LANGUAGE

The language of Moldova is Romanian (see section on Romania). However, from 1940 to 1989, the Soviet authorities insisted that there existed a separate Moldavian language, which, in reality, was simply Romanian written in the Cyrillic (Russian) alphabet. In 1989, Romanian, written in the Latin alphabet, was reintroduced as the official language of Moldova.

II. GEOGRAPHY

Moldova has gone through at least three name changes this century. The area is historically known as Bessarabia. From 1940 to 1990, under the Soviet regime, the area was called Moldavia. Since 1991, the area has been called Moldova, the actual Romanian name for "Moldavia." Moldova borders Ukraine on the north, east, and south, and borders Romania to the west along the Prut river. The climate is warm and moderately continental, with relatively mild winters. The country is drained by a number of rivers which flow towards the Black Sea, the two most important being the Prut and Nistru (Dniester). Moldova possesses rich and fertile soils which help it to be a large producer of agricultural products.

With a few important exceptions, Moldova roughly corresponds to the area known historically as Bessarabia, lying between the Prut and Nistru rivers. In 1940, when Bessarabia was annexed by the Soviet Union, the northern county of Hotin (Khotin) and the southern counties of Ismail and Cetatea Albă were ceded to Ukraine. In turn, a small strip of land on the left (east) bank of the Nistru, in which there was a small Romanian population, was joined to the newly created Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic.

Moldova is an ethnically varied country. Romanians comprise 65% of the population, with Ukrainians at 14%, Russians 13%, Găgăuz (Christian Turks) 4%, Bulgarians 2%, and Jews 2%. The largest Russian settlements are in Moldova's capital Chişinău (Kishinev), where Russians account for some 56% of the population, and in the Moldovan enclave on the left bank of the Nistru, including the towns Tiraspol, Dubăsari (Dubossary), and Rîbniţa (Rybnitsa). On the left bank Romanians account for only 40% of the population. The Ukrainians are scattered throughout the republic, while the Găgăuz and Bulgarians live primarily in the southern part of the country. The Jews are an urban population, inhabiting the larger cities of Chişinău and Bălţi (Beltsy).

III. HISTORY

Although the early history of Bessarabia is obscure, it is known that there were Greek colonies along the Black Sea coast as early as 100 BC and that the area was part of the Roman-influenced Dacian kingdom in the second century AD. In the third and fourth centuries the area was crossed by Visigoths and in the fifth century by the Avars. From the seventh to the thirteenth centuries Bessarabia was crossed by waves of migrating peoples, including the Bulgars in the seventh century, the Magyars (Hungarians) in the ninth, the Pechenegs and Cumans in the eleventh, and ending with the great Mongol invasion in the thirteenth century.

In the fourteenth century, Bessarabia came under the control of the Moldavian princes. Following Ottoman Turkish incursions along the Black Sea coast, Moldavia was forced to

cede in the fifteenth century the southern Bessarabian fortresses of Cetatea Albă (Akerman) and Chilia. By the middle of the sixteenth century, Moldavia had become an autonomous, tribute-paying vassal state of the Ottoman Empire, with southern Bessarabia annexed outright by the Ottomans.

In 1812 Bessarabia was ceded to Russia by the Ottomans and the area remained in Russian possession until 1918. From 1812-1828 Russia granted Bessarabia autonomy and allowed it a Moldavian governor and ecclesiastical leaders, but by the end of the century, a policy of Russification had begun. This policy placed Russians in government and church offices and encouraged Russian, and even German, colonization of the region. After the Russian Revolution of 1905 a nationalist movement emerged, and in November 1917, following the Bolshevik Revolution, a Bessarabian national council, *Sfatul ţării*, was established. In January 1918, *Sfatul ţării* declared Bessarabia's independence from Russia and its union with Romania. Thus from 1918 to 1940, Bessarabia's history is intertwined with that of Romania's.

The Soviet Union never recognized Bessarabia's union with Romania, and in 1924 formed the Moldavian Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic out of a small strip of land along the left bank of the Nistru in which a few Romanians (Moldavians, as the Soviets called them), lived. Following the German-Soviet Nonaggression Pact of August 1939, in June 1940 the Soviets demanded the return of Bessarabia. The Romanian government complied and in August 1940, the Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic was created out of a geographically reorganized Bessarabia: the northern county of Hotin and the southern counties of Ismail and Cetatea Albă, which border the Black Sea and Danube, were annexed by Ukraine, and the left bank Moldavian ASSR became a part of the Moldavian SSR. In 1941 Romania entered World War II on the side of the Axis and invaded the Soviet Union, recapturing Bessarabia; but by 1944, Soviet troops had expelled Romanian troops from Bessarabia and regained control over the Moldavian SSR. From 1944 to 1990, Moldavia was a republic of the Soviet Union.

IV. GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS

From 1945 to 1990, the highest body of state power in Moldavia was the one-chamber Supreme Soviet, elected for a four-year period. The Supreme Soviet elected a Presidium to legislate when the chamber was not convened and appointed a Council of Ministers, or cabinet. The Communist Party of Moldavia chose the members of the Supreme Soviet, who were approved by voters at four-year intervals. Nonparty candidates were permitted to stand for elections to the Supreme Soviet and other bodies, but only on the same list with communist candidates, who usually ran unopposed.

In December 1991, Moldova joined the Commonwealth of Independent States, the successor to the Soviet Union. By January 1992, Moldova had been recognized as a sovereign and independent country on the international scene. Two major problems currently face Moldova. One is the continued ethnic unrest among Russians on the left bank of the Nistru and among Găgăuz in the southern part of the republic. Since August 1991, ethnic Russians have been attempting to create a "Dniester Soviet Socialist Republic" from Moldovan territory on the left bank of the Dniester, an area which is 60% ethnic Russian and 40% ethnic Romanian. The Russians continue to blockade Moldovan access to towns on the left bank and have often attacked Moldovan police stations and other institutions representing Moldovan government

in the region. The "Dniester" separatists have been reinforced by mercenaries from Russia and Ukraine, and even by apparently mutinous units of the Russian Fourteenth Army, which remains stationed in the area. Russian nationalist politicians, including some high-ranking Russian officials and military officers, have expressed support for the separatists. The commander of the Russian Fourteenth, Gen. Alexander Lebed, has said repeatedly that the "Dniester SSR" seeks some form of close association, perhaps even union, with Russia. Both sides have accused each other of atrocities, and Moldova has repeatedly appealed for UN peacekeeping forces and human rights observers to be sent to the area. At the same time, the Găgăuz have also attempted to create their own Găgăuz SSR, although they have not relied on such force as the Russians, and by March 1992 they had reached a *modus vivendi* with the Moldovan government in which their ethnic, cultural, and linguistic rights are protected.

The other major issue facing Moldova is the increased pressure from groups in both Moldova and Romania for the reunification of Moldova with Romania. Moldovan President Mircea Snegur has repeatedly reiterated that Moldova will seek to be an independent country, and that Moldova and Romania will represent "one people, two states." Most Moldovans are hesitant about reunification because of Bessarabia's treatment as part of Romania between 1918 and 1940, the possibility of increasing ethnic conflict due to Moldova's sizeable ethnic minorities, and the political and economic liabilities Romania represents. Romanian President Ion Iliescu also favors an independent Moldova. However, Moldovan and Romanian nationalists on both sides of the border have been pressing for Moldova's unqualified and immediate reunification with Romania in order to recreate the "Greater Romania" of the interwar period. Among the groups supporting this move are the Moldovan Popular Front, the Romanian National Council for Union, the Romanian government opposition, and most major Romanian newspapers. Relations between the two Romanian states are close, and include a bilateral military agreement. An interparliamentary commission has been established to coordinate legislation in the two states, and there have been talks aimed at integrating Moldova into Romania's road, rail and electric power networks.

V. ECONOMY

The Moldovan economy is dominated by food processing and agriculture. The area is well known for its viticulture and fruit and vegetable growing. Sunflower seed is the most important industrial crop. Within the food processing industry, wine making, canning, sugar refining, and oilseed pressing are the most important branches. In manufacturing, machinery manufacturing, metalworking, electrical power engineering, consumer goods, and the building materials industry are being intensively developed. Following the collapse of the centrally planned economy, Moldova is trying to attract foreign investment to further its economic progress. Most Moldovan factories and farms are still state owned.

VI. RELIGION

The major religion of Moldova is Orthodoxy, in either its Romanian, Russian, or Ukrainian variants. There is also a small but important Jewish population. Orthodoxy: 94%; Jewish: 2%; Other: 4%.

VII. CHRONOLOGY

100 BC		Greek settlements in southern Bessarabia along the Black Sea coast
200 AD		Bessarabia part of the Roman-influenced Dacian kingdom
400-1257		Successive invasions of Bessarabia by migrating peoples
14th century		Bessarabia becomes part of the Moldavian principality
mid-15th century		Bessarabian fortresses of Chilia and Cetatea Albă ceded to the Ottoman Empire
1538		Southern Bessarabia ceded to the Ottoman Empire
1812		Bessarabia ceded to Russia
1918	January 24	*Sfatul Ţării*, the Bessarabian national council, declares independence from Russia
	December	*Sfatul Ţării* declares Bessarabia's union with Romania
1924		Soviet Union creates Moldavian Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic out of Romanian regions on the left bank of the Nistru river
1940	June	Romania cedes Bessarabia to Soviet Union following Soviet ultimatum
1941	June	Romania invades the Soviet Union and reclaims Bessarabia
1944	July	Soviet troops enter Bessarabia and reclaim Bessarabia
1945		Soviet Union creates the Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic out of parts of Bessarabia and the Moldavian ASSR
1989	June 25	A mass rally takes place in Chişinău to mark the annexation of Bessarabia by the USSR in June 1940, in which some speakers denounce the incorporation of the region into the USSR, call for the resignation of the republic's leaders and the restoration of territories ceded to the Ukrainian SSR; others demand Romanian be made a state language and be written in Latin script
	July 9	A mass rally is reported in the Moldavian capital calling for the creation of two separate autonomous republics in Moldavia, a Russian one on the left bank of the Nistru and a Găgăuz one in southern Moldavia
	July 29	Mircea Snegur, who had been working in the Secretariat of the Moldavian Central Committee, is elected the new chairman of the Presidium of the Moldavian Supreme Soviet
	July 30	30,000 people gather in the main square of Chişinău to mark the fortieth anniversary of the creation of the republic and demand that Romanian be declared the republic's official language and that the Latin alphabet replace the Cyrillic one
	August 22-24	Non-Moldavian factory workers in Tiraspol strike to protest against laws that would make Romanian the official language in the republic
	August 27	Between 250,000 and 300,000 people rally in Chişinău to back moves to upgrade the status of the Romanian language to the official language of the republic and of communication between nationalities
	August 31	Moldavia's Supreme Soviet votes to restore Romanian as the state language and to reinstate the Latin alphabet; the legislature also approves a compromise making both Russian and Romanian the official languages for communication between different nationalities
	Sept-Oct	Ethnic Russian workers in Tiraspol and Tighina (Bendery) go on strike to protest against the proclamation of Romanian as the official language of the republic
	October 14	A new unofficial workers' organization is established in Moldavia, backing moves to

		broaden political and economic reforms in the Soviet Union and calling for real independence for enterprises, pluralism in forms of property ownership, and steps to combat inflation, the budget deficit, and the "shadow economy"
	November 10	Police clash with a crowd organized by the Moldavian Popular Front to demand the release of people arrested on November 7 during a parade to mark the seventy-second anniversary of the October Revolution; the demonstrators attack the headquarters of the Ministry of Internal Affairs
	November 12	The Găgăuz minority in Moldavia proclaims part of southern Moldavia a Găgăuz Autonomous Republic; this move is immediately declared unconstitutional by the Moldavian parliament
1990	January 29	Citizens of the Tiraspol Raion (region) vote to declare their administrative independence, supporting a regional self-government and the incorporation of Tiraspol Raion into a Dniester Autonomous Republic
	February 3	The Presidium of the Moldavian Supreme Soviet rejects the decision by Tiraspol Raion to declare itself an independent territory, claiming that the referendum and declaration are a violation of the provisions of the constitution and therefore invalid
	April 17	The newly elected Moldavian parliament convenes for a two-month session during which draft laws on sovereignty, socioeconomic independence, and republican citizenship are discussed
	May 11	Residents of Tiraspol, Tighina (Bendery), and other predominantly Russian areas of Moldavia refuse to recognize the republic's new flag, adopted on April 27, which is identical to the Romanian flag
	June 5	The Moldavian Supreme Soviet renames the republic "the Soviet Socialist Republic of Moldova," using the Romanian-language name for the region
	June 18	The Moldovan Supreme Soviet votes to establish a radio and television center free of politics and ideology in which no party or social organization will be allowed to influence the information broadcast; the legislature also votes to establish its own newspaper, called *Sfatul Ţării*, which appears six times a week in both Romanian and Russian, and an official monthly periodical
	June 23	Moldova declares its sovereignty and states that its laws have precedence over Moscow's; the legislature also declares the republic's territory a demilitarized zone and states that all its natural resources are "the exclusive property" of the republic; all residents of the republic are declared Moldovan citizens and dual citizenship is outlawed, implicitly rejecting the notion that Moldovan citizens are also citizens of the Soviet Union
	June 24	In a demonstration dubbed "Operation Open Borders," tens of thousands of Romanians and Moldovans unite across the river Prut
	August 19	At a meeting in Comrat, Găgăuz deputies to the local and republican soviets call for the secession of Găgăuz-inhabited regions from the Moldovan SSR and the formation of a Găgăuz republic within the USSR
	August 20	The Moldovan Supreme Soviet Presidium rules illegal the Găgăuz call for the establishment of a separate republic
	August 22	The Moldovan government bans the *Găgăuz Khalky* (Găgăuz People) movement, citing violations of Moldova's constitution and territorial integrity
	September 12	Mircea Snegur, chairman of the Moldovan Supreme Soviet, suspends the obligation of Moldovan residents to serve in the Soviet armed forces
	September 22	Snegur and Boris Yeltsin, Chairman of the Russian Supreme Soviet, sign a treaty recognizing and undertaking to respect each other's sovereignty
	October 1	The Moldovan legislature approves in principle the republican government's draft economic program for the transition to a market economy
	October 3	The Moldovan government instructs republican ministries and local authorities to assist in the formation of private enterprises by turning over, selling, or renting production capacity to private entrepreneurs on a preferential basis
	October 13	Moldovan President Mircea Snegur disavows any idea of reunification with Romania
	December 5	The Moldovan Supreme Soviet adopts a law on the police, subordinating the police directly to the republic leadership; it stipulates that activities of political parties will not be allowed in police units and that police salaries are to be at least double the average salary in the republic

	December 11	The would-be Dniester SSR (on the predominantly ethnic Russian left bank of the Nistru) and Găgăuz republic join together in a federation, proclaiming the two republics' adherence to the new, all-Union Soviet treaty as members of the "renewed" USSR
	December 16	At a rally of some 800,000 people in Chişinău, Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev's proposed Union treaty is rejected by acclamation
1991	January 15	Commander of the Odessa Military District Colonel General Ivan Morozov, speaking in Tiraspol, states that he has enough troops and will do everything he can to prevent Moldova from seceding from the USSR
	January 22	In Tiraspol, an extraordinary congress of people's deputies from the so-called Dniester SSR resolve to refuse to accept Gorbachev's ruling that the self-proclaimed republic is illegal
	January 23	The Moldovan legislature passes a law on ownership that codifies private, family, cooperative, joint-stock, kolhoz, and state ownership, enabling foreign citizens and companies to set up joint ventures with Moldovan partners and allowing for the private ownership of land, real-estate, transportation, processing workshops, and financial capital
	February 19	The Moldovan Supreme Soviet votes to reject the holding in Moldova of the March 17 referendum on the future of the USSR; it also approves a document entitled "On the Formation of an Association of Sovereign States" proposing the formation of a confederation giving wide powers to the member states but practically devoid of a center of power and votes to propose this concept to the Union republics
	March 6	The Moldovan Supreme Soviet passes a law on reforming executive power and instituting presidential government in the republic, with the president becoming the republic's chief executive authority, with the power to chair the government's sessions, have final say over the latter's decisions, issue executive decrees, and dismiss ministers, including the prime minister; the legislature also decides that conscripts from the republic will perform military service only on the territory of Moldova
	May 23	The Moldovan legislature decides to drop the words "Soviet" and "Socialist" from the republic's name and adopts the official title "Republic of Moldova"
	June 4	President Snegur issues a decree founding a Moldovan National Bank by taking over the Moldovan branch of the USSR Gosbank
	July 31	The Moldovan government sets up twenty-five customs posts on the Moldovan-Ukrainian border to control the export of agricultural produce and consumer goods
	August 15	The leadership of the would-be "Dniester SSR" in eastern Moldova orders all enterprises, institutions, and organizations in the area to submit to its jurisdiction
	August 19	The Moldovan leadership condemns the coup attempt against Soviet President Gorbachev
	August 20	The communist leaders of the so-called Dniester SSR in eastern Moldova and Găgăuz SSR in southern Moldova come out in support of the coup against Gorbachev
	August 23	The Presidium of the Moldovan Supreme Soviet bans the activities of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Moldovan Communist Party on the territory of Moldova and orders the nationalization of the Communist Party's property in the republic, including business firms, bank accounts, and archives
	August 27	The Moldovan parliament unanimously adopts a declaration of independence, requesting international recognition of the republic's independence and membership in the UN and Council on Security and Cooperation in Europe
	Sept 25-30	Paramilitary detachments of Russian workers in eastern Moldova storm several administrative buildings in Dubăsari and lay siege to the town's police headquarters
	September 27	The Russian communist leadership of the "Dniester SSR" begins forming a "republican guard"
	October 16	Moldova's Higher Security Council approves the creation of a national armed force and rules out participation in a "common military space of a possible new union;" this plan also calls for a negotiated withdrawal of USSR forces from Moldova and the prompt transfer to the republic of all Moldovan military personnel serving in USSR forces outside Moldova
	November 3	Some 10,000 supporters of the Moldovan Popular Front hold a rally in Chişinău demanding reunification with Romania and the immediate introduction in Moldova of the Romanian currency (leu) in place of the ruble and denouncing President Snegur for

		opposing reunification
	November 14	President Snegur declares all military equipment and assets of the Soviet army units stationed on Moldovan territory the property of Moldova in order to create a material-technical base for the armed forces of Moldova
	Dec 4-13	A military-political putsch in the "Dniester SSR" led by Lieutenant General Gennadii Yakovlev, commander of the Russian Fourteenth Army stationed in the region, turns Red Army materiel in the region over to the Dniester SSR, helps Dniester forces take over buildings belonging to the Moldovan police, and warns Moldovans in the region not to vote in the December 8 Moldovan presidential elections
	December 8	Mircea Snegur, the sole contender for the post of President of Moldova, is elected by 98% of the vote
	December 22	Moldova signs the Alma-Ata agreement, joining the Commonwealth of Independent States
1992	January 24	The National Council for Union, composed of nationalist politicians from Moldova and Romania, convenes in the Romanian city of Iaşi, calling for the restoration of Romania within its natural borders, including Bessarabia and northern Bucovina, for increased economic and political cooperation, and for the creation of free trade zones along the border
	January 25	Moldovan President Snegur meets with Romanian President Ion Iliescu in Ungheni, Moldova to discuss the creation of a free economic zone in the border region and a speed-up in cooperation in agriculture; both leaders make repeated references to the concept of "two Romanian states"
	February 11	US Secretary of State James Baker visits Chişinău and holds talks with Mircea Snegur; Baker states that he is pleased with Moldova's commitment to democracy, human rights, the peaceful resolution of disputes, the transition to a market economy, and Moldova's guarantees of the rights of ethnic minorities
	February 18	Moldova and the US establish formal diplomatic relations
	February 24	President Snegur issues a decree extending Moldovan citizenship to all current residents of the republic
	April 10	Some Găgăuz leaders say they are ready to give up the idea of an independent republic
	May 16-17	At a summit meeting of CIS leaders, Moldova criticizes Russia for the support being given to the Dniester separatists by Russian communist hardliners and ultranationalists, including some military officers
	May 20	Units of the Russian Fourteenth Army join "Dniester" forces in seizing areas of the left bank of the Dniester
	May 22	The "Găgăuz" Supreme Soviet issues statement holding Moldova responsible for the Dniester conflict; two days later Găgăuz militants ambush a Moldovan security patrol, killing at least two Moldovan officers
	June 4	Moldovan President Snegur rejects proposals for a Moldovan federation consisting of autonomous Moldovan, Dniester and Găgăuz republics
	June 9	Most of the Moldovan cabinet ministers resign, saying the government's economic reform program lacks sufficient popular and parliamentary support
	June 17-18	The "Dniester SSR" announces the formation of its own army
	July 1	Andrei Sangheli becomes Prime Minister, replacing Valeriu Muravschi who resigned along with most of his cabinet on June 9
	July 21	The presidents of Moldova and Russia sign an agreement aimed at ending hostilities in eastern Moldova
	August 12	Moldova and Russia begin talks on the withdrawal of the Russian Fourteenth Army from left bank Moldova
	August 24	Legislation is introduced in the "Dniester" Supreme Soviet to reimpose the Cyrillic alphabet
	September 2	The "Dniester SSR" celebrates the second anniversary of its self-proclamation; President Smirnov credits the Russian Fourteenth Army with the republic's survival
	September 8	"Dniester" Supreme Soviet creates Dniester Air Force consisting of all Soviet aircraft on its territory
	September 11	The "Dniester SSR" creates its own border force; by September 16 it has also announced the creation of its own bank, customs bureau, and citizenship; Moldovan television relay stations on the left bank of the Dniester are seized

	October 1	Moldovan Foreign Minister Nicolae Tiu addresses UN General Assembly, requests UN cease-fire monitors and human rights observers be sent to the left bank of the Dniester
	November 7	"Dniester SSR" celebrates the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution; President Smirnov praises elements in Moscow which he says are working to restore Great Russia
	December 2	Press reports confirm earlier rumors that Russian Fourteenth Army is slated for withdrawal from Moldova, that its equipment will be turned over to local (i.e. "Dniester SSR") authorities, and that its personnel will be discharged locally (thus facilitating transfers to the Dniester forces)
	December 14	Moldova and Romania sign a bilateral military agreement
	December 25	Chairman of Romanian parliament Adrian Nastase, on a visit to Moldova, announces that a Moldovan-Romanian interparliamentary commission has been established to coordinate future legislation in both states; the pro-unification Moldovan Popular Front is not represented in the Moldovan delegation "Dniester" President Igor Smirnov admits that residents of the region are being drafted into the Russian Fourteenth Army
	December 28	Chief of Romanian Information Service (successor to the communist Securitate) says his bureau is "spearheading" Romania's efforts to reunite with Moldova; Moldovan government protests
1993	January 5-6	Gen. Alexander Lebed, commander of the Russian Fourteenth Army stationed in the "Dniester SSR," threatens to use his troops against "mafia structures" in "Dniester" government
	January 7	Moldovan President Snegur reveals that he met with "Dniester" President Smirnov and proposed self-governing territory status for the region, which the Dniester Supreme Soviet rejected
	January 11	Lebed confirms that former Soviet KGB officers are serving in the "Dniester" Security Ministry
	January 12	Lebed demands resignation of President Smirnov and "Dniester" government
	January 22	"Dniester SSR" signs mutual defense alliances with self-proclaimed "Găgăuz Republic"
	February 9	Talks between Moldovan President Snegur and Russian President Yeltsin fail to resolve the status of the Russian Fourteenth Army;
	February 12	Snegur accuses leaders of the movement for unification with Romania of plotting a coup
	February 13	Command of Russian Fourteenth Army announces tactical exercises, complete with live artillery firings, for Feb. 15-19; Moldovan government protests

TAJIKISTAN

Area: 55,251 sq. miles (143,095 sq. km.)
Population: 4,366,000 (58.8% Tajiks, 22.9% Uzbeks, 10.4% Russians, 2.1% Tatars)
Capital: Dushanbe
Official Language: Tajik
Religion: Muslim
Unit of Currency: Ruble

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I. ALPHABET AND LANGUAGE

Tajik belongs to the southwestern group of Iranian languages which is very similar to Farsi. Tajik has 4 major dialects. Tajik is spoken in parts of Kyrgyzstan, Kazakhstan, and northern Afghanistan. The first works written in Tajik date from the 9th century. The Arabic script was used for Tajik until 1930. Latin alphabet was used from 1930 to 1940. Since then Tajik has been written in Cyrillic.

II. GEOGRAPHY

Tajikistan is a mountainous republic more than half of whose territory is over 10,000 feet. The largest mountain ranges are those of the southern Tien Shan and the Pamir-Alay in the southeast. The CIS's highest peaks are there. The bordering regions are China to the east, Afghanistan to the south, Uzbekistan to the west, and Kyrgyzstan to the north. Valleys and lakes are few but the republic has a dense river network. The largest rivers are the Syrdarya and the Amudarya. The population is 70 percent rural.

III. HISTORY

The Tajiks are descendants of Persian-speaking Iranians. They were once part of Alexander the Great's Macedonian empire and of the Persian empire. In the 8th century Arabs conquered the area and two centuries later, Turkic invaders seized it. Eventually, many of the Tajiks became Ottomanized and gave up their Persian tongue for Turkish. Until the mid-19th century Tajikistan was part of the Bukhara emirate or under the Afghans. In the 1860's Russia conquered the area. By 1920 the October Revolution extended over the area of modern Tajikistan. Between 1922 and 1923 it was the scene of the Basmachi Revolt. This was a Central Asian insurrection from 1917-1926 against Soviet rule by Muslim traditionalists. The revolt threatened the Soviet government with the loss of Central Asia but the Soviets conciliated to nationalist sentiments and defused the crisis. In 1924 the Tajik Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic was created as part of Uzbekistan. In 1929 Tajikistan became a union republic.

IV. GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS

Although the 1937 Soviet constitution declared that all union republics had the rights of a sovereign state, Tajikistan did not gain true independence from Moscow until 1991. Its highest governing body, the Supreme Soviet, was selected every 4 years. The Communist Party of Tajikistan was the center of power until the mid-1980's when political and social groups formed in opposition. The Tajiks were always a minority in their own communist party. Since 1991 clan struggles for government posts have become frequent, a phenomenon which has produced signs of separatism in smaller areas of the republic. The republic's population is devoutly Muslim. Mullahs have gained in stature and authority. Western scholars assert that despite democratic reforms, a political candidate has little chance of victory without the support of the Islamic clergy. An important part of the political climate may be characterized as Islamic fundamentalist reformist. Many circles are calling for the establishment of an Islamic republic. As of December 13, 1991, Tajikistan has been a member of the Commonwealth of Independent States. Communists are still a majority in the parliament (they effected the election of Rakhmon Nabiev). Nabiev has, however been forced to give in to many opposition demands such as for open elections and the lifting of the ban

on the Islamic Renaissance Party. Beginning in May 1992, Tajikistan has been embroiled in a brutal civil war. The nature of the war has been very complex since it has been simultaneously fought along political, regional, ideological, religious and ethnic lines. Hostilities were precipitated when president Nabiev was force to concede one third of his ministerial seats to the opposition. The opposition consisted of three groups: the Democratic Party of Tajikistan (pro-Western orientation), Tajik Nationalist Movement, and the Islamic Renaissance Party. The Kulyab and Leninabad regions refused to recognize the change in government. During the summer, the southern part of the country experienced the heaviest fighting in clashes between anti-communist and anti-Islamic forces. In November, Nabiev was forced by the opposition to resign. Also in November pro-Nabiev forces--mostly from the Kulyab region in the south--took control of parts of the capital for two days, but were soon driven out with the aid of Russian forces. In the same month, pro-communist and anti-Islam forces took control of the south. On November 10th the opposition government resigned and the pro-communist dominated Supreme Soviet took power. The Supreme Soviet abolished the office of the president and the Chairman of the Supreme Soviet Imomali Rakhmonov became head of state. By the end of 1992, the new leadership was in control of approximately 90% of the country. Pro-communists have taken severe action against pro-Islamic parties in the conflict. In all, it is estimated that between 20,000 and 70,000 people have died in the civil war. Hundreds of thousands have become refugees; many have fled across the Afghan border.

V. ECONOMY

Tajikistan has the lowest standard of living in the CIS. Sixty percent of Tajiks live below the poverty level. Tajikistan is a major producer of cotton. Its main industries include oil and uranium production (the latter of which the Tajik government may be trying to sell abroad) and wine-making. The republic is rich in mineral deposits as well as petroleum and natural gas. ;its rivers are a potential source of hydroelectric power. Oil extraction and coal mining are the oldest industries in the republic and are concentrated in the north. Tajikistan's agricultural industry is rich but heavily dependent upon irrigation provided by a large canal network. The civil war in 1992 has created economic turmoil with severe reduction of output in industrial and agricultural sectors. Unemployment has been rampant. Some economic reforms such as price and foreign trade liberalization have been introduced. A modest privatization program has begun and a new law has given farmers "life time possession" of their land. Further economic reform is expected to be gradual and under considerable control from the center.

VI. RELIGION

Most Tajiks are Sunni Muslim with a conservative outlook. See religion section in Russia chapter for more general information.

VII. CHRONOLOGY

8th century	Arabs cross Amudarya river and conquer Transoxania where Iranian Tajiks live
10th century	Turkic invaders seize area. Tajiks accept Islam and many adopt Turkish language

mid 18th century		Afghans conquer region
1860-1870's		Russian conquest
1922-23		Tajikistan is scene of Basmachi revolt
1924		Tajik autonomous republic created as part of Uzbekistan
1929		Tajikistan becomes a union republic
1928-29		Collectivization meets considerable opposition
1961		Broad purge of party apparatus
1987-88		Soviet family planning campaign launched in Central Asia opposed by Tajiks
1988		Nationalist outbursts and assaults on non-Tajiks; dealers in religious samizdat ring prosecuted by authorities
1989		Fights between Belorussian athletes and Tajik students
1991	August 23	President of Tajik republic, Kakhar Makhamov, bans Communist party activities in republican ministries
	August	President declares economic sovereignty and nationalizes some party property
	September 9	Tajikistan declares its independence and support for union of sovereign states
	September 22	Communist party banned and all party property nationalized
	September 23	Communists in parliament force president to resign because he suspended party activities and seized property; state of emergency declared; retired party leader installed as president; protests in streets ensue
	September 30	State of emergency lifted; demonstrations for restoration of communist party (CP) ban continue throughout country
	October 2	Party activities banned again
	October 7	Tajik Supreme Soviet and opposition groups reach agreements on representation, continued CP ban, and equal access to the media
	October 22	Ban on religious parties lifted. Islamic Renaissance Party (IRP), a liberalizing force, can register
	October 26	Now legal IRP holds congress
	November 24	Presidential elections held
	November 25	Rakhmon Nabiev (former Communist party chief) elected president
	November 26	Union treaty fails to be ratified
	December 8	Severe energy crisis in republic reported on central TV
	December 25	Supreme Soviet removes ban on activities of communist party
1992	January 2	Tajik officials deny reports of Soviet agencies that Tajikistan is selling enriched uranium abroad
	January 20	Tajikistan signs trade accords with Cuba
	January 22	Tajikistan applies for UN membership
	January 29	Tajikistan accepted as member of Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe
	January 30	Tajikistan creates own customs service, primarily to stop influx of narcotics from Afghanistan
	February 4	Sale of Moscow periodicals ceases at Tajik news kiosks because people cannot afford; Tajikistan concludes trade agreement with Tatarstan
	February 7	New Popular Unity Party formed to represent entrepreneurs, non-communist conservative forces close to government)
	February 13	U.S. Secretary of State James Baker travels to Tajikistan where he reports his satisfaction with republic's commitment to democracy, market economy, and

		human rights
	February 16	Along with Azerbaijan, Kyrgyzstan, Turkmenstan, and Uzbekistan, Tajikistan is admitted to the Economic Cooperation Organization. The group was founded in 1963 by Iran, Pakistan, and Turkey.
	April 30	Tajikistan's legislature grants Nabiev powers of direct presidential rule.
	May 5	Nabiev declares a state of emergency in Dushanbe amidst an atmosphere of tension and violence between pro- and anti-governmental forces.
	May 6	Anti-government forces gain control of Dushanbe. President Nabiev takes refuge in the parliament building.
	May 11	After eight demonstrators are killed by government forces, Nabiev relinquishes eight of 24 cabinet posts to the opposition.
	May 12	Thousands of demonstrators call for Nabiev's resignation.
	May 14	The Kulyab City Soviet threatens to make the city independent.
	May 15	A meeting of CIS representatives is held in Tashkent. A collective security pact is made which stipulates that aggression against any single member state will be considered an act of aggression against all CIS members.
	May 20	Leninabad and Kulyab oblasts refuse to recognize Nabiev's compromise government.
	June 9	Fatalities are reported in fighting the Kulyab oblast.
	June 27	Violence in the Kurgan Tyube oblast results in 100 deaths. Perpetrators are said to be members of the Islamic opposition.
	July 7	Tajik government and guerilla forces in the Southern part of the country agree to a cease fire.
	July 27	A cease fire agreement is made between armed bands in the town of Khorog. Opposition parties criticize president Nabiev for failing to take part in the talks.
	August 12	President Nabiev comes under harsh attacks in the Supreme Soviet. Calls are made for him to resign voluntarily.
	September 3	The Presidium of the Tajik Supreme Soviet and Cabinet of Ministers issue a statement of no confidence in president Rakhman Nabiev. Nabiev is ousted as a result.
	September 5	A CIS military officer announces that hundreds have been killed in clashes between Nabiev supporters and opponents in Kurgan Tyube.
	September 7	President Nabiev formally resigns his powers at gunpoint. His authority is transferred to Supreme Soviet Chairman Abonsho Iskandrov.
	September 8	The Supreme Soviet and Council of Ministers announce that they will run the country.
	September 26	Armed forces from the Kulyab oblast seize four tanks, two armored vehicles, and five Russian soldiers.
	October 21	Tajik governmental officials appeal to the international community for humanitarian aid. There are reported to be more than 200,000 refugees as a result of the civil war.
	October 24	Forces from Kulyab oblast supporting deposed president Rakhman Nabiev enter the capital and seize the presidential palace, the Supreme Soviet building and radio and television stations. Hundreds are killed in the fighting.
	October 25	A cease fire is implemented.
	October 26	The government regains control of the capital and Kulyab forces exit the city. They are escorted by Russian forces.
	November 9	The number of refugees in the capital, Dushanbe, reaches 55,000.
	November 10	The coalition government--Cabinet of Ministers and Presidium of the Supreme Soviet--resign. The move allows the Supreme Soviet to form a new government.
	December 11	Pro Communist forces loyal to the new Tajik government secure the capital. The forces are lead by the new Minister of Internal Affairs, Yakub Salimov.
1993	January 20	Prime Minister Abdumalik Abdullodzhonov announces the Tajik economy

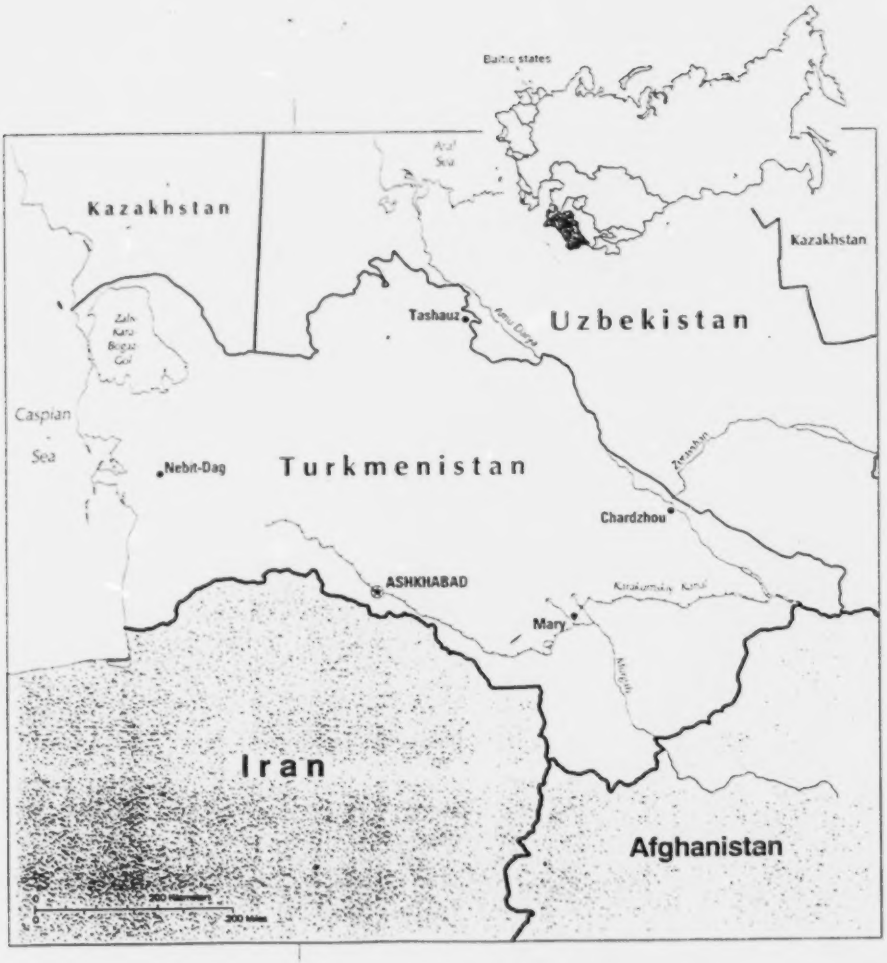
will require 200 billion rubles in foreign investment in order to restore it to its 1985-86 level. An economic reform program will stimulate the development of small and medium-sized businesses and will continue state support for large enterprises. Weapons production will continue. The country also requests immediate CIS aid in the form of food, medical supplies, and construction materials. There are also plans to request CIS aid to defend the Tajik-Afghan border.

January 21 — There are reports that up to ten camps to train supporters of the Islamic Renaissance Party are located in Afghanistan.

February 4 — Civil war casualty figures for the second half of 1992 are announced. 20,000 are reported dead and 200,000 have become refugees as a result of the fighting.

TURKMENISTAN

Area: 488,100 sq.km. (188,500 sq.mi.)
Population: 3,123,000 (68.4% Turkmen, 12.6% Russian, 8.5% Uzbek, 2.0% Kazakh)
Capital: Ashkhabad (356,000 pop.)
Official language: Turkmen
Religion: Islam
Unit of currency: Ruble
Declared independence October 27, 1991



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I. ALPHABET AND LANGUAGE

Turkmen belongs to the Oghuz group of Turkic languages. The old Turkmen literary language was used mostly in poetry, and the modern language was not standardized until after the 1917 revolution. Until 1928 Turkmen was written in Arabic script; then it was written in Latin script until 1940, when it was switched to the Cyrillic.

II. GEOGRAPHY

Ninety percent of Turkmenistan is composed of the Kara-Kum (Black Sand) Desert, one of the largest deserts in the world. Mountains and foothills rise mainly in the southern part of the republic, and the Kopet-Dag Mountains mark the border with Iran. The southernmost territory in the CIS, Turkmen is bordered by Iran and Afghanistan in the south, the Caspian Sea in the west, Kazakhstan in the north, and Uzbekistan in the east. Its main river is the Amu Darya, but the flow of rivers does not coincide with the locations of cultivatable lands.

III. HISTORY

According to Turkmen tradition, their origins go back to the powerful Oguz tribe of Turkic peoples who moved out of their eastern Asian homelands into western Asia and the Middle East during the seventh and eighth centuries. Of that tribe, those who accepted the Muslim faith were called Turkmen. Linguistically the Turkmen are related most closely to the Osmanli (Ottoman) and Azerbaijani Turks. Until 1924 communities were organized into tribes, and these tribes were nomadic and either completely independent or subject to the powerful states of Bukhara, Khiva, and Persia. During the Mongol Invasion, the northern Turkmen fell under Batu and the Golden Horde, and in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, Southern Turkmenistan was incorporated into the Timurid Empire. The 16th-18th centuries witnessed numerous power struggles among the various tribes. Bitter rivalries always existed between these tribes, especially between the Tekes and Yomuds.

Russian movements into the region were aggressively resisted, and in 1717, during the reign of Peter the Great, the first Russian military expedition into the area was annihilated by the Turkmen cavalry. In 1869 Russian troops landed on the eastern coast of the Caspian Sea and established the port of Krasnovodsk. A military district was then established there and in 1899 finally became part of the governorate general of Turkistan. Resistance to Russian rule continued to be fierce and was carried out primarily by the Teke tribe. Due to tribal rivalries, however, many of the other tribes failed to support the Tekes, and some even assisted the Russians. In 1881 Turkmen resistance was broken at the Battle of Geok-Tepe.

In 1916, the Turkmens attempted another large-scale revolt against the Russians, but although many Russian settlers and officials were killed, the move was unsuccessful. During the Civil War (1918-20) Turkmenistan was the site of fighting between Transcaucasian Provincial troops and Bolshevik troops. Bolshevik rule was established in 1917 with the formation of a Provisional Government of Transcaspia, but collapsed in 1918 under pressure from the Turkmen and the provisional government. A new Transcaspian government was formed and lasted until 1919, when it again fell to the Bolsheviks.

Between 1927 and 1931, Stalin imposed collectivization of agriculture and sedentarization of nomadic herdsmen in the republic. Localized revolts ensued almost to the point of civil war

but were put down by central authorities. Stalin's purges wiped out large numbers of Turkmen party and government leaders and members of the intelligentsia. Unlike many other Central Asian republics in WWII, Turkmenistan was not a site for the relocation of Russian industry due to its lack of an industrial base, mineral resources, and its desert terrain. In 1948 an earthquake caused severe damage to the republic, and the capital was largely destroyed and had to be rebuilt.

IV. GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS

In 1990, Turkmenistan had its first multi-candidate democratic elections to the republican and local government. The highest body of republican government is the Supreme Soviet of Turkmenistan, the members of which are elected for a 4-year term. Before 1990 the ethnic make-up of the Supreme Soviet was very mixed (Slavic and Turkmen), but now Turkmen compose the majority. In October of 1991 Turkmenistan declared, with overwhelming popular support, its independence from the Soviet Union, and in December of the same year it joined the CIS. In the same month the Communist Party was dissolved and reconstituted as the Democratic Party. Currently, the republic is improving political and economic ties with other Muslim states, including Iran.

In 1992, President Niyazov was reelected President, and Turkmenistan made plans to introduce its own currency. In the area of foreign relations, Turkmenistan signed agreements with Russia establishing diplomatic relations and giving temporary control of border forces to Russia. Niyazov later decreed that all former Soviet Border Forces are under the control of the Turkmen government. In addition, Turkmenistan and Iran discussed the possibility of shipping Turkmen gas across Iran to Europe, and a coordinating council was set up to design the pipeline.

V. ECONOMY

The republic specializes in cotton growing and gas extraction. It is rich in petroleum and natural gas, and ranks third in the CIS in oil extraction (Western Turkmenistan). In addition, livestock comprise approximately two-fifths of the agricultural gross output. Some of its most important domestic industries include carpet and rug making. The republic is presently considering selling electric power and oil to Iran and improving transportation and communication services with its neighbor. In the summer of 1991 republican border guards deserted their posts between Turkmenistan and Iran, thus permitting a free flow of goods and people in both directions.

In 1991 it was revealed that Turkmenistan has the highest infant mortality rate in the CIS, and one of the highest in the world, caused by environmental factors, poor health care, and malnutrition.

At present, private sector activity is permitted, but none of the state enterprises have been privatized.

VI. RELIGION

Approximately 85 percent of the population of Turkmenistan is Muslim and 15 percent Russian Orthodox. See Russia religion section for more general information.

VII. CHRONOLOGY

10th century		Oguz tribal union moves south and part that accepts Islam called Turkmen
16-18th cc.		Turkmen tribes lack political unification
1716		Failed Russian expedition to area
1869		Russians land and establish port of Krasnovodsk
1874		Transcaspian military district established
1881		District becomes *oblast*, Russian General Skobelev breaks Turkmen resistance to Russian encroachment at Battle of Geok-Tepe
1899		Oblast becomes part of governorate general of Turkestan
1916		Turkmen revolt against Russian rule
1918-20		Sporadic fighting between Social Revolutionary Transcaspian Provincial Government and Bolsheviks
1919		Red Army troops capture Ashkhabad
1920		Bolshevik rule established
1924		Turkmen autonomous republic formed
1948		Severe earthquake destroys most of Ashkhabad and Geok-Tepe
1982	September	Pilgrimages to tomb of Turkmen who resisted Russian conquest are threatened by central authorities
1989	May	Youths, complaining of high prices, attack Armenian co-ops
	June	Youths riot to demand jobs
1991	August 29	Republican president Niyazov wants to reorganize and rename Communist Party and retain it as an administrative tool. Opposition group leaders arrested; some citizens request intervention from center against totalitarianism
	September 12	Turkmenistan wants to join UN but has not yet declared its independence
	October 10	Iran and Turkmenistan announce intent to open consulates in Ashkhabad and Tehran
	October 27	Referendum reveals 94 percent of Turkmen want to declare independence
	October 28	Turkmenistan declares independence from Soviet Union
	November 26	Union treaty fails to be ratified
	December 2	President Niyazov visits Turkey to enlist financial help in market reform
	December 12	Five Central Asian leaders meet in Ashkhabad to discuss reaction to new Commonwealth of Independent States
	December 13	Central Asian republics vote to join Commonwealth as equal members
	December 16	Turkmen Communist Party dissolves and reconstitutes as Democratic Party
1992	January 10	Retail prices freed
	January 15	Republic demands and receives partial control of Caspian Sea flotilla
	January 20	Officials plan to sell electric power and oil to Iran, to form a joint transportation company and establish direct telephone service
	January 22	Russia agrees to pay world market prices in hard currency for Turkmen gas
	January 30	Republic admitted as member of Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe

February 13	U.S. Secretary of State Baker visits Turkmenistan and establishes diplomatic relations with U.S.
February 17	Economic Cooperation Organization of Muslim states (inc. Turkey, Iran, and CIS Central Asian republics) agrees to set up development bank and to cooperate in modernization of transportation, communications, industry, and agriculture
March 20	On the eve of Navruz (Persian New Year), a holiday celebrated in Turkmenistan, President Saparmurad Niyazov issues a decree pardoning 41 individuals accused of padding cotton production figures
March 23	Turkmenistan abstains from signing the "Agreement on the Joint Armed Forces for a Transitional Period"
April 8	Turkmenistan signs an agreement with Russia to establish diplomatic relations
April 14	Turkmen leaders meet with leaders of Iran to discuss the possibility of transporting Turkmen gas across Iran
May 5	The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet issues a resolution instructing that instead of giving Turkmen place names in the Russian version, that they be transliterated into Russian directly from Turkmen
May 18	The Supreme Soviet adopts a new constitution guaranteeing political pluralism and strict definitions of the legislative, judicial, and executive powers; presidential elections are scheduled for June 21
June 21	President Niyazov, the only candidate for president, is reelected
July 29	Vadim Cherepov is confirmed as the new Russian ambassador by President Niyazov
July 31	Turkmenistan and Russia sign a treaty on friendship and cooperation for science, culture, and natural science, that will also give Russian troops control over Turkmen borders until Turkmenistan forms its own guard
August 7	The press announces that a coordinating council has been formed to design and build a pipeline to ship Turkmen gas to Europe via Iran and Turkey
August 11	President Niyazov decrees that all former Soviet Border Forces in the republic be placed under jurisdiction of the Turkmen government
October 22	The deputy Prime Minister responsible for economic issues signs an agreement on a unified CIS currency system, and President Niyazov announces that Turkmenistan is planning to introduce its own currency

UKRAINE

Area: 233,100 sq. miles (603,700 sq. km.)
Population: 51.8 million
Capital: Kiev (2,602,000)
Official Language: Ukrainian
Religion: Orthodoxy, Uniate and Roman Catholic
Declared independence August 24, 1991

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I. ALPHABET AND LANGUAGE

Ukrainian, an East Slavic language very similar to Russian and Belarusian, has three primary dialects: northern, southwestern, and southeastern. Ukrainian uses the Cyrillic alphabet, based on the Russian alphabet, with the exception of a few letters; and contains borrowing from German and Polish.

II. GEOGRAPHY

Ukraine is bordered by Belarus in the north, Russia in the east, the Sea of Azov, the Black Sea in the south, Moldova, Romania and Hungary in the south, and Czechoslovakia and Poland in the west. The second largest state in Europe after Russia, Ukraine consists almost entirely of plains, highlands and lowlands. The mountain ranges, the Ukrainian Carpathians and Crimean Mountains, are located on the western and southern borders, and the highest point in the Carpathian Mountains is only 6,762 feet above sea level. In the north, the Pripet marshes contain many rivers and valleys.

Situated in a temperate zone influenced by the Atlantic Ocean, temperatures in Ukraine vary among the western and eastern regions. Soils in the northwest regions may be cultivated but require additional nutrients, while the "Black Earth" soil of the central region has been considered one of the most fertile in the world, thus justifying Ukraine's nickname as the breadbasket of the Soviet Union. Vegetation varies from forest, woodlands, marsh and steppe. Questions remain, however, as to the extent of ecological damage to this region caused by the Chernobyl nuclear disaster of 1985.

Ukrainians account for around three-fourths of the population in Ukraine. While representation from over 100 different ethnic groups may be found in Ukraine, the majority are Slavic - Russian, Belarusians, Poles, and Bulgarians--others include Jews, Greeks, Romanians, Armenians, Gypsies, Hungarians, Tatars, Chuvash, Lithuanians, Bashkirs and Kazakhs.

III. HISTORY

Early Ukrainian history begins with the formation of Kievan Rus during the 9th to 11th centuries. Rus itself was a large empire which included and eventually incorporated the areas now known as European Russia and Ukraine. Kievan Rus fell in 1237-41 to the Tatars. Western Ukraine was conquered in the 14th century and Volynia was annexed to Polish-Lithuanian Grand-Duchy. During the end of the 16th century Ukrainian peasants staged continual revolts against Polish landlords. Meanwhile peasants escaping Polish rule settled in the Eastern steppes calling themselves Cossacks. This group formed its own state in 1654 and soon joined the Muscovite state.

In 1648 Boghdan Khmelnytsky (or Chmielnicki) was elected commander-in-chief of the Zaporozhian Cossacks, and in 1648-49 he led a successful insurrection against Poland in the

War of National Liberation, and established independent rule. The Cossacks wanted to increase the number of registered Cossacks allowed on Polish territories. Upon victory the Cossacks slaughtered landowners, clergy of the Roman Catholic and Uniate Churches, and Jews. Khmelnytsky was finally defeated in September 1651, and the Cossacks were forced to concede portions of their territory.

In October 1653 the Cossacks appealed to the Russian Empire for protection against Polish attacks, and Russian Tsar Alexei agreed to declare war on Poland. On January 11, 1654 the Cossacks joined the Muscovite Empire, thus bringing Ukraine under Russian rule. Under the terms of the 1667 Treaty of Andruszow, Ukraine was partitioned, with Poland claiming the right bank of the Dnieper (west of the Dnieper), and Russia claiming the left bank. However, the truncated Ukraine under Russian control did manage to survive as an autonomous structure until 1764, when the elective office of *hetman* was finally abolished.

From 1668 to 1764 Ukraine was a region fought over by the Russians, Poles, and Turks, but none of these forces was able to consolidate power over the territory. The 1709 attempt to form an independent Ukraine was quickly halted at the Battle of Poltava. In 1775 the Cossacks in Russian Ukraine were disarmed and the territory was divided under Russian control. The 1793 partition of Poland once again united Ukraine, but only as an entity within the Russian Empire.

Ukrainians enjoyed some national rights under Russian rule, and nationalist sentiments grew in strength during the Ukrainian literary and cultural awakening, until the tsarist government banned the use of Ukrainian in schools and publications in 1876. The center of Ukrainian nationalism then turned to Lvov in Galicia which remained under Austrian control. Until 1905, when the Russians again allowed Ukrainian-language publications, Lvov was used as the publication site for Ukrainian journals and books, and Ukrainian political parties (first formed in the 1890s) were represented in both the Galician provincial assembly and the Austrian parliament in Vienna.

The Soviet Period

War-ravaged Ukraine faced a power struggle for control of its territory following World War I. From 1917 to 1920, while Russian, German and Austrian troops invaded, the Ukrainian Rada (Central Council) attempted to establish an independent government. Nevertheless, Ukraine was unable to withstand the Russian forces, and on December 1920, signed a treaty of alliance with Moscow. Essentially, this treaty was an act of incorporation, and on December 30, 1922, the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic was formally incorporated into the Soviet Union.

After a brief period of nativization from 1923-1928 Stalin began the elimination of national forces. Beginning in 1930, Ukrainian political leaders and party and nonparty intelligentsia were put on trial and sentenced to death, leading many historians to believe that during the 1930s, Stalin was intentionally trying to kill off the Ukrainian population. He brutally imposed collectivization and demanded the requisition of huge amounts of grain, leading to

the 1932-33 famine which killed as many as 7 million Ukrainians. In January 1934 the Ukrainian capital was moved from Kravkov to Kiev. The interwar period also saw the development of an underground Ukrainian Military Organization (UVO) and the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), both headed by Evhen Konovalets. These groups hoped that an independent Ukraine would develop from the Russian-German crisis that would eventually lead to the Second World War.

With the advent of World War II, Ukraine again became a battleground as attempts to establish an independent Ukraine were crushed by both the German and Soviet forces. In the end, Ukraine remained within the USSR, and its territory was augmented by the annexation of eastern Galicia and Volynia in August 1945. During the war, the Jewish population was nearly annihilated by the Germans, and many Poles returned to Poland proper. The ethnic composition was further altered by the influx of Russians who filled new communist party governmental posts.

In 1945 Ukraine joined the United Nations, but never established diplomatic relations with other countries. Stalin continued to tighten Moscow's control over Ukraine, and in 1946 he dissolved the Uniate Church. The death of Stalin in 1953 and his denunciation by Khrushchev, a native of Ukraine, in 1956 significantly eased political and cultural life in Ukraine. Republican party posts were again filled by ethnic Ukrainians, and national literature began to flourish. This political nativization lasted in Ukraine until after the fall of Khrushchev in 1965-66, when the Brezhnev government again pushed to make Russian the dominant ethnic group in Soviet politics. First Secretary of the Communist Party of Ukraine, Petro Shelest, resisted russification and was able to protect Ukrainian writers until 1972, when he was replaced by Volodymyr Shcherbyts'kyi, who subsequently brought a halt to the spread of Ukrainian nationalism. In 1979 nationalistic dissent was repressed in all of the USSR.

The Gorbachev Period

In April 1986 the nuclear reactor at Chernobyl, near Kiev, experienced an explosion. The dangers of the event continue to evoke fear in Ukrainians today and have become a major source of national resistance. Also during the late 1980s, Ukrainians began to discuss the tragic 1932-33 famine and to explore the possibility that it was artificially created by Stalin. Demands arose for the publication of previously banned books, and many national books were finally released. Ukrainians also raised the issue of Ukrainian as the language of instruction in schools, while others demanded the legalization of the Uniate Church. Other important issues included the environment and the damage done by the Chernobyl explosion.

On December 8, 1991, newly elected Ukrainian President Kravchuk, along with Belarusian leader Shushkevich and Russian President Yeltsin, declared that the USSR no longer existed and that a new Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) had been formed. Although a member of the CIS, Kravchuk, along with his Foreign Affairs Minister Anatol Zlenko, pursues a separate Ukrainian foreign policy. One of the largest debates between Kravchuk and Yeltsin is whether Ukraine will be allowed to form an independent armed force.

During 1992, the Crimean Tatars staged demonstrations and demanded the restoration of an autonomous Crimean Tatar state. On May 5, the Crimean Parliament declared its independence but stopped short of severing all ties with Kiev, but the Ukrainian parliament quickly passed a resolution annulling the declaration, and on May 21, the Crimean parliament voted to repeal their independence declaration.

IV. GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS

The Ukrainian government was organized according to the 1937 Soviet constitution and inherited the traditional Soviet political system. The Supreme Soviet of Ukraine was the highest state body. While given the right to conduct international affairs in the 1944 constitution, the only significant evidence of this privilege was in Ukraine's membership in the United Nations, although actual participation in foreign affairs was minimal. The significant Ukrainian population living outside of the Ukrainian SSR contributed during the Soviet period to continued, albeit limited, international contact and support.

In August 1991 the Ukrainian parliament voted to establish independence from the USSR, on December 1, Ukrainian voters approved an official referendum to break from the USSR and form an independent Ukraine. In the same referendum Leonid M. Kravchuk was elected president of Ukraine, winning 61.5% of the vote. On October 13, 1992, Parliament approved Leonid Kuchma Prime Minister.

Black Sea Fleet Crisis

With the breakup of the Soviet Union, questions remain as to the fate of the armed forces still on Ukrainian territory, specifically the Black Sea Fleet. First, however, is the question of ownership of the Crimea, the area in which this fleet is based. During 1992 Ukraine and Russia engaged in a heated debate over these two questions. Ukraine announced that it would proceed from the principle that every state has the right to inherit the property located on its territory, and that since the Crimea was part of Ukraine, it would therefore take that part of the fleet based on Ukrainian territory. Russian President Yeltsin, however, decreed that any attempts to change the status of the Black Sea Fleet unilaterally would force Russia to place the fleet under Russian jurisdiction. The fact that this announcement was released by the Commander of the CIS forces confirmed Ukraine's suspicion that the CIS forces stationed in Ukraine were really Russian forces in disguise. Furthermore, the Ukrainian parliament declared that these decrees by Russia were interpreted as a threat to Ukrainian sovereignty, and that since Ukraine had not made any territorial claims on other former Soviet republics, it would not recognize those territorial claims made by others.

V. ECONOMY

Ukraine is a large producer of many agricultural and industrial goods ranging from grains to locomotives, and from metals to ladies shoes. The fertility of the soil provides a natural environment for the cultivation of this multitude of goods, and it made Ukraine the largest Soviet producer of wheat and sugar-beets, and a major source of livestock. Other

consumption goods produced include wine, fruit, sugar, and dairy products. Ukraine also has a large mineral base which includes high-grade coal and iron. Leading industries include mining, steel, metallurgic, chemical, electric production, light industry and woodworking.

VI. RELIGION

Ukrainians adopted Christianity (Orthodoxy) in 988. With the fall of Kievan Rus the Roman Catholic Church emerged as a significant influence on the Ukrainian people. Then, as a result of the Polish-Lithuanian Union in 1596, Ukrainians were divided among three religions. The first group was the Roman Catholics of the Latin rite who generally followed ceremonies identical to those of the Poles. The second group was the Ukrainian Catholics (Uniate), who were faithful to the Pope in Rome but followed Orthodox rituals. The third group was Orthodox, composed primarily of Cossacks who had escaped Polish and Lithuanian domination. Jews were present in Ukraine until the Second World War.

VII. CHRONOLOGY

8-4th cent BC		Ukraine inhabited by Scythians; Slavs later appear in the Dnieper area
9-11th cent AD		Northwest portion of Ukraine joined Kievan Rus
10th cent		Introduction of Christianity
1237-41		Tatar invasion and destruction of Kievan Rus
14th cent		Western Ukraine (Galicia and Volynia) conquered by Poland; Volynia annexed by Lithuania; some Ukrainians escape Polish rule, settle in the Eastern Steppe and call themselves Cossacks
1569		Polish-Lithuanian union; Ukrainians divided into three religions: Roman Catholics, Uniate, and Orthodox
16th cent (end)		Continuous peasant revolts against the Polish state
1648		Boghdan Khmelnytsky (or Chmielnicki) elected commander-in-chief of the Zaporozhian Cossacks
	May	Khmelnytsky defeated the Poles in the battles of Zhovti Vody and Korsun
	September	Khmelnytsky invaded Poland and took Lvov and Zamość
1649	August 18	The Polish King agrees to raise the number of registered Cossacks and announces that all officials in Kiev, Chernigov, and Bratslav were to be Orthodox
1651		Khmelnytsky tries to further his gains, but is defeated at Bila Tserkva; Cossack territories are taken back by the Poles
1653	October 11	Cossacks ask for Russian protection; Russian Tsar Alexei declares war on Poland
1654	January 18	Cossacks form a Cossack state, and Ukraine comes under Russian rule with full

		privileges for the Cossacks
1657		Khmelnytsky dies; Vyhovsky succeeds him as hetman
1658	September 16	Commonwealth of Poles, Lithuanians, and Ruthenians formed
1667	February 9	Treaty of Ardruszow divides Ukraine: the right bank of the Dnieper (west of the Dnieper) is taken over by Poland, the left bank by Russia
1668	December	Turkish Sultan Mehmed (Mohammed) IV takes Ukraine under his protection
1672	October 18	Right-bank, or Polish Ukraine comes under Ottoman rule
1687		Ivan Mazepa becomes hetman of the Cossacks in Russian Ukraine
1709		Peter the Great defeats Mazepa's Cossacks at the Battle of Poltava, crushing the Ukrainian bid for independence
1772		Galicia annexed by Austria
1775		Cossacks disarmed and Russia takes political control of Ukraine
1793-95		Partitions of Poland; Ukraine united under the Russian Empire
1846		Foundation of the Brotherhood of SS. Cyril and Methodius, which demanded the emancipation of serfs and national autonomy; most members arrested by Nicholas I
1861		The first Ukrainian periodical to be published in Russia, *Osnova* ("The Outset"), is released in St. Petersburg
1863		Foundation of the *Hromada*, an opposition group to the Czarist government
1868		*Prosvita* (Enlightenment), an educational society, came into being in Lvov; Galicia enjoys more privileges under Austrian rule
1876		Tsarist government forbids the use of the Ukrainian language in schools, books, and journals
1898		Publication of Myhailo Hrushevsky's 10-volume *History of the Ukraine-Rus*
1905		Ukrainian-language publications allowed in Russian Ukraine
1917	November 7	The Rada proclaims the establishment of the Ukrainian People's Republic; Hrushevsky as President
	December 26	Soviets form a Ukrainian Soviet government in Kharkov
1918	January 22	Rada proclaims a "free and sovereign" Ukrainian republic
	February 8-9	Central Powers conclude a separate peace with Ukraine; Communists capture Kiev; Rada flees

	April	Collapse of Central Powers; a directorate of five with Vinnichenko as chairman assumes power in Kiev
1919	January 22	Western and Eastern Ukraine united; Red Army reoccupies Kiev
1920	December 28	Treaty of alliance between Russia and Ukraine; act of incorporation
1921		Formation of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church; forced back into the Russian Orthodox Church in 1930
1922	December 30	Ukraine incorporated into the USSR as a Soviet Socialist Republic
1932-33		The famine created by Stalin kills as many as 7 million people
1934	January	Ukrainian capital moved from Kravkov to Kiev
1941	June 30	German occupation
1943		Shukhevych forms an underground Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA)
1945	August 16	Soviet-Polish Treaty adds eastern Galicia and Volynia to the Ukrainian SSR territory
1953		Stalin dies; Khrushchev, a native of Ukraine, becomes the First Secretary of the Communist Party of the USSR
1965-66		Many Ukrainian political leaders arrested by the new Brezhnev government
1970		The Ukrainian *samizdat* paper *Ukrainian Herald (Ukrains'kyi visnyk)* published
1972		The Ukrainian nationalist-minded First Secretary of the Communist Party of Ukraine replaced by Volodymyr Shcherbyts'kyi
1976		Ukrainian Helsinki Group formed to draw world-wide attention to repression in Ukraine
1986	April	Chernobyl nuclear explosion
1987		Protests against Soviets to build new nuclear facilities; amnesty of political prisoners
1989	September	Shcherbyts'kyi dismissed as First Secretary of the Communist Party of Ukraine; replaced by Vladimir Ivashko
1990	March 4	Nonpartisan elections for local and legislative offices; reformists do well
	October 2	Thousands of protesters in Kiev erect a tent city to demand that the Ukrainian parliament move more swiftly in establishing an independent Ukraine
	October 10-17	Hunger and protest strikes
	October 13	Poland and Ukraine sign agreement in Kiev to establish diplomatic relations between sovereign states
1991	March 1	120,000 miners in the Donetsk region begin a 1-day walk-out to protest for higher pay and better working conditions; the walk-out continues past the intended one day as support for the miners grows

	March 17	Ukrainians vote in the Soviet referendum on preserving the Union
	July 27	Ukraine delays signing the proposed Union Treaty
	Aug. 19-21	Attempted coup in Moscow
	August 24	Ukrainian parliament approves declaration of independence
	August 29	Russia and Ukraine sign separate political and economic treaties
	September 9	Parliament of the Crimea region votes on a declaration of independence from Ukraine
	October 4	Ukraine refuses to sign a Soviet economic union based on the plan introduced by Soviet economist Yavlinsky
	October 22	Ukrainian parliament votes to create an independent armed forces of 400,000 to 450,000 men, to include an army, navy, air force and national guard
	November 4	Ukraine signs the Soviet economic union treaty after Western governments indicate that Ukraine will only receive aid or investment as part of the economic union
	November 27	US government agrees to recognize an independent Ukraine if Ukraine breaks from the USSR in the December 1 independence referendum
	December 1	Ukrainian voters approve referendum to break from the USSR and form an independent country; Leonid M. Kravchuk elected president winning 61.5% of the vote
	December 2	Russia recognizes Ukraine
	December 8	Ukrainian President Kravchuk along with Russian President Yeltsin and Belarusian Supreme Soviet Chairman Stanislav Shushkevich declare in Minsk that the Soviet Union no longer exists and they proclaim a new "Commonwealth of Independent States" (CIS) into existence
	December 10	Ukrainian parliament ratifies the commonwealth agreement
	December 28	Kravchuk reasserts the will that Ukraine will pursue its own foreign policy and maintain its own armed forces
1992	January 16	Kravchuk threatens to leave the CIS over debates with Russia about a Ukrainian armed forces
	January 25	The Third Congress of the Popular Movement of Ukraine (Rukh) supports Kravchuk's demand for an independent Ukrainian state and armed forces, but not his proposed price hikes
	March 19	Kravchuk signs a decree liberalizing foreign trade and foreign currency requirements in order to stimulate imports and exports; the Crimean Tatars demonstrate, calling for a restoration of an autonomous Crimean Tatar state
	March 20	The Summit Meeting for the Commonwealth of Independent States opens in Kiev
	March 23	Ukraine abstains from signing the "Agreement on the Joint Armed Forces for a Transitional Period"
	March 25	Ukraine recalls Ukrainian nationals serving in the CIS armed forces in "trouble spots" such as Armenia, Azerbaijan, Moldova; parliament passes a law transforming the Ukrainian KGB into an agency capable of serving the needs of an independent and democratic state
	March 26	Reports disclose that there are still 1420 strategic and 2390 tactical nuclear warheads on Ukrainian territory; the first Ukrainian embassy opens in Budapest
	March 27	A split in the ranks of the Ukrainian Autocephalis Orthodox Church into those who want to join the Ukrainian Orthodox Church and those who want to remain loyal to the patriarch of the Autocephalous Church is reported
	March 29	Kravchuk concludes an official visit to India and signs a bilateral treaty on friendship and cooperation
	March 30	Ukrainian Jews announce their intention to hold a congress later in the year to develop Jewish cultural life in Ukraine
	April 2	U.S. President Bush announces that Ukraine's request for a credit line of $300 million will be approved in full

April 3	Ukraine refuses to allow 6 strategic bombers based on its territory to fly to Moscow to participate in an air show
April 7	Russian President Yeltsin declares Russian jurisdiction over the Black Sea Fleet; James Baker warns that US aid to Ukraine will be reduced if Kiev reneges on its promise to send tactical nuclear weapons to Russia to be dismantled
April 8	Ukraine announces that it will allow up to 6,000 German families to be resettled in 13 raions
April 9	Parliament meets in closed session to discuss the Black Sea Fleet controversy and decides that Yeltsin's move should be viewed as a declaration of war against Ukraine Parliament ratifies a decision to suspend the transfer of tactical nuclear weapons to Russia
April 14	The Presidium of Crimea's Supreme Soviet appeals to military forces stationed on the peninsula to prevent an outbreak of war there
April 17	The transfer of tactical nuclear weapons to Russia is resumed
April 22	Ukrainian officials repeat demand that Ukraine be an equal party to the 1991 START Treaty
April 26	Kravchuk concludes a two-day visit to Iran and signs agreements on political, cultural, economic, and technical cooperation
April 29	Ukraine reaches an agreement with Iran to supply oil to Ukraine; Parliament passes a law defining the Crimean Republic as a constituent part of Ukraine with territory that may not be changed or transferred to another country or territorial- administrative unit without the approval of the people
May 3	Kravchuk arrives in Ankara to discuss bilateral ties and regional and interregional issues with Turkey
May 5	Kravchuk arrives in the U.S. to meet with American officials; the Crimean Parliament declares independence but stops short of severing all ties with Kiev
May 6	Kravchuk and Bush meet at the White House and sign several agreements on trade, investment, and U.S. Peace Corps programs in Ukraine
May 13	Parliament pass a resolution annulling the Crimean independence declaration
May 15	The government moves to take control of all long-range aviation formations and units deployed on its territory
May 21	The Crimean Parliament votes to repeal their declaration of independence
May 26	Ukraine signs a friendship and cooperation treaty establishing most-favored-nation status with Estonia
June 9	49 miners are killed in a gas explosion in the east Ukrainian coal mining town of Krasnodon
June 10	Officials announce that prices will be freed for milk, butter, vodka, and other staple goods as of June 11
June 12	Metropolitan Filaret, the ousted head of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church, is unfrocked by the synod of the Russian Orthodox Church for breaking Church rules, schismatic activities, and dictatorial and inappropriate behavior
June 20	Ukraine cuts by one-fourth the volume of Russian oil flowing through pipelines across Ukrainian territory
June 23	Ukraine signs an 18-point agreement with Russia on interstate relations and other issues
June 25	Officials announce the unification of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Church and a faction of the recently split Ukrainian Orthodox Church
July 22	The Transcarpathian Oblast Soviet rules to allow local inhabitants to change their national affiliation in their passports
July 23	The Crimean Parliament passes a resolution on the resettlement of Armenians, Bulgarians, Greeks, and Germans deported from the Crimea during World War II
July 25	Kiev issues a directive that all signs and announcements in the capital will be in

		Ukrainian as of August 1
	August 3	Kravchuk and Yeltsin agree on a prospective friendship treaty
	August 6	An official at the Chernobyl nuclear power plant warns that radioactive material continues to erode the protective sarcophagus around the plant's reactor
	September 16	Deputy Yurii Kostenko announces that Ukraine must retain former Soviet long-range ballistic missiles on its territory for "national security reasons"
	September 20	Ukrainian Foreign Minister Andrei Kozyrev and Russian Foreign Minister Anatolii Zlenko meet in New York to discuss preparations for a Ukraine-Russia treaty and economic relations
	September 22	The Russian Central Bank suspends ruble credits to Ukraine until an agreement is reached on trade payments
	September 29	At a meeting of the United Nations Foreign Minister announces that Ukraine expects "strict international guarantees" of its national security against threats or use of force from nuclear-armed states
	September 30	Kravchuk tells Parliament that Ukraine will never allow itself to be subordinated to any kind of centralized CIS structure; Prime Minister Vitold Fokin offers his resignation to demonstrate his desire to ensure peace and consensus in the country
	October 3	Kravchuk announces that Ukraine will accept responsibility for its share of the $70-80 billion foreign debt of the former Soviet Union
	October 4	Crimean Tatars clash with police over an order for the removal of temporary houses built by Tatars
	October 6	Crimean Tatar demonstrators attempt to storm the parliament building in Simferopol
	October 7	National Guard units are deployed in the Crimea in response to the rising tensions between the Crimean Tatars and local authorities
	October 15	Heads of Ukrainian industrial enterprises in the eastern and southern regions of the country meet to form an Interregional Association to counter Kiev's many political decisions
	October 16	The third block at Chernobyl is switched on again for a trial two-day operation
	October 17	Ukraine signs a deal with India to supply weapons and spare parts to New Delhi in exchange for Indian goods, including medicine and cloth
	October 22	Kuchma signs three agreements on economic cooperation with acting Russian Prime Minister Gaidar
	October 23	Ukraine signs a treaty on good-neighborly relations, friendship, and cooperation with Moldova
	October 28	Morozov announces that Ukraine will adhere to the (START) Strategic Arms Reduction Talks provisions
	November 2	Morozov issues a decree disbanding one of Kiev's Military Districts operational groups
	November 3	Ukrainian officials announce that an agreement to settle former Soviet debts has been concluded, and that Ukraine will receive 227 billion rubles to pay for Russian oil, gas, and other key products through the end of 1992
	November 5	First Deputy Prime Minister Ihor Yukhorovsky suggests that Kiev sell or auction off to the highest bidder all nuclear warheads remaining in the country
	November 12	The ruble is suspended as legal tender and is replaced completely by karbovanets coupons
	November 13	Kuchma informs journalists after a meeting of the CIS heads of governments that Ukraine will not adhere to the proposed CIS charter
	November 27	Ukraine launches a new privatization plan that will award to each citizen a bank account containing 30,000 coupons, to be used to buy shares in firms or shops
1993	January 20	A team from the European Community (EC) examines the Chernobyl nuclear power

	station and declares it unfit for operation
January 22	Kravchuk confirms that Ukraine will not sign the proposed CIS charter at the upcoming CIS summit on January 23
February 3	Parliament adopts an economic plan promising both financial austerity and active economic restructuring programs in order to decrease the budget deficit from 36% to 6%
February 14	Officials voice the opinion that Russia is deliberately pushing Ukraine out of the CIS

UZBEKISTAN

Area: 172,700 sq. miles (447,400 sq. km.)
Population: 19,260,000
Capital: Tashkent (pop. 2,000,000)
Official Language: Uzbek
Religion: Muslim

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I. ALPHABET AND LANGUAGE

Uzbek is a member of the Turkic language group, a subfamily of the Altaic languages. Two main dialect groups can be distinguished in Uzbek. One dialect includes the southern, or Iranized, spoken in the cities of Tashkent, Bukhara, and Samarkand. The second dialect, spoken in the northern part of Uzbekistan, does not reflect an Iranian influence. The creation of modern literary Uzbek did not occur until after the Russian Revolution when a modified cyrillic alphabet was adopted. The Iranized dialect serves as the basis of the current literary language.

II. GEOGRAPHY

Uzbekistan lies in the heart of central Asia largely between the Amu Darya and Syr Darya Rivers (the word dare means river in Uzbek). Although Uzbekistan contains fertile oases and high mountain ranges, almost four-fifths of the area consists of flat sun-baked lowlands. The country is bounded by the steppes of Kazakhstan on the north and northwest; by the mountains of Kyrgyzistan and Tadzhikistan on the east and southeast; by the deserts of Turkmenistan on the southwest; and for a short stretch in the south by Afghanistan. Uzbekistan has a climate that is very dry and distinctly continental. The summer is long and warm, and the winter is short with occasional severe frosts. Uzbekistan's rivers originate in the mountains, but their waters are lost to irrigation, filtration, and evaporation. Most rivers disappear in the sands as they flow through the dry lowlands.

The Uzbeks were far from homogeneous; they were a mixture of ancient Iranian populations and of many nomadic groups that at some earlier era had settled in the oases of the Amu Darya, Syr Darya, and Zeravshan Rivers. After occupying what is virtually their present habitat, the Uzbeks became intermingled with older tribes, such as the Karlyks and Uighur. By the 19th century they no longer had any political or national existence.

Poor farming practices, intensive irrigation of croplands, over-grazing of pasturelands, and extensive use of fertilizers and pesticides have had severe effects on environmental conditions in Uzbekistan. These practices have led to the drying up of the Aral Sea basin and a depletion of top soil in many agricultural regions due to wind and water erosion.

As in other Central Asian republics, the population of Uzbekistan is growing at a rapid rate. The 1970 census revealed that the Uzbek nationality is second in size among non-Russian groups of the former Soviet Union. 71% of the population residing on the territory of Uzbekistan are ethnic Uzbeks, 8% are Russian (in 1993 this percentage is undoubtedly lower as many Russians are leaving Uzbekistan), 4% are Tatar, 3% are Ukrainian, and 1% are Chuvash.

III. HISTORY

Early History. The history of Uzbekistan was heavily influenced by the succession of

invaders that swept over the area: the troops of King Darius of Persia in the 6th century BC; the troops of Alexander the Great in the 4th century BC; and the Arab forces in the 8th century AD. In the 5th and 6th centuries AD Uzbekistan was subject to heavy Chinese influence due to its location on the silk trade route. The country was settled by Turks in about the same time period.

The Mongol Invasions and the Uzbek Khanates. Following the devastating Mongol invasion (c. 1370-1405), the area became the center of the empire of the Mongol warrior chieftain Tamarlane and his successors until the early 16th century. The Uzbek national name possibly originated from Khan Uzbek, one of the chiefs of the Golden Horde, who, having embraced Islam, was active in its propagation. Thus, the name Uzbek came to be applied to the Sunnite Muslim section of the Golden Horde in the 15th century. During the decline of the Golden Horde in the 15th Century, the Uzbeks occupied the territory between the lower Volga River and the Aral Sea. During this period an Uzbek federation was formed. This tribal federation at the beginning of the 16th century invaded and occupied the settled regions of Bukhara and Samarkand and, later, Urgench and Tashkent, ousting the earlier empire founded by Tamarlane. The descendants of this dynasty were pushed into India.

Russian Invasion and Rule. Nowhere in the Muslim world during the 19th century were there regimes less prepared to face the challenge of European expansion than the three khanates of Central Asia, Bukhara, Khiva (Khwarezm), and Kokand. Only the geographic isolation of the region impeded the advance of Russia. The Russian conquest began in earnest with the acquisition in 1855 of the fort at Ak-Mechet on the Syr Darya, which had belonged to the Khanate of Kokand. Chimkent and Tashkent, which were also Kokand possessions, were taken in 1865. In 1868 the Emir of Bukhara acknowleged defeat and signed a peace treaty with Russia. By 1876, the entire territory was under Russian rule, with the Khanate of Kokand destroyed and the khanates of Bukhara and Khiva nominally-independent protectorates under the tsar.

Under Soviet Rule. At the outbreak of the Russian Revolution in 1917, the Uzbeks had no national status and were not recognized as a distinct nationality for administrative purpose. In Tashkent, power was seized by a Communist-controlled Council of Workers', Soldiers', and Peasants' Deputies. In these, the Uzbeks and other Muslims played no part. In December 1917 the Muslims called a National Congress in Kokand, and formed a Muslim government. A military force sent from Tashkent destroyed this government in February 1918 and in the process burned Kokand to the ground and massacred its people. The destruction in turn provoked a resistance movement known as the Basmachi Revolt. The Revolt, seen by some as a nationalist movement aiming at independence from Soviet rule, was more the reaction of the people to inefficient and oppressive authority.

In April 1918 the Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic of Turkestan was proclaimed, which encompassed most of modern Uzbekistan, Tadjikistan, and Turkmenistan. In autumn 1919 Lenin, in an effort to control the chaotic and bitterly hostile situation that had developed between Russians and Central Asians in Turkestan, dispatched the Turkestan Commission to

take over the government and introduce measures designed to appease the Muslim population. In 1920 the Red Army and native revolutionaries overthrew the Khan of Khiva and Emir of Bukhara, and proclaimed the old protectorates to be People's Soviet Republics. These were formally absorbed into the Soviet Union in 1924, when a fundamental redrawing of the administrative boundaries of Central Asia was carried out and the Uzbek and Turkmen Union Republics were formed. In 1937-38, during the Stalinist Great Purge, a nationalist plot was said to have been discovered and many Uzbeks were executed, including the president of the republic and the first secretary of the Uzbek Communist Party.

IV. GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS

From February 1937 when the republic adopted the new Soviet constitution until August 1991, Uzbekistan was one of the fifteen union republics which composed the Soviet Union. As in other constituent union republics, Uzbek sovereignty was severely curtailed through the subordination to the central government in Moscow of all matters concerning economic development and social, political, cultural, foreign, and military affairs. The governmental administrative and executive body was called the Supreme Soviet of the Uzbek SSR. The Communist Party of Uzbekistan was the only authorized political organization and the main power center of the republic.

On August 31, 1991 Uzbekistan declared its independence from the Soviet Union. The Communist Party of Uzbekistan officially broke with Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) after the attempted August Coup. However, the country remains under the control of the old communist leadership--albeit under a new name, the People's Democratic Party. Only one opposition party, Erk, headed by writer Muhammed Salih, was allowed to register in 1991 to challenge former First Secretary Islam Karimov in the presidential election on December 29, 1991. Islam Karimov emerged victorious winning 86% of the vote. Political opposition groups not allowed to participate in the December elections were the National Front organization Birlik and the Islamic Renaissance Party. All parties are now effectively banned with their leaders subject to arrest and trial.

V. ECONOMY

Uzbekistan is the third largest cotton producer in the world. Heavy industry, mainly designed under the first Soviet five-year plan to produce machines for cotton cultivation, harvesting and processing, today is much more diversified. Uzbekistan is the main producer of machines and heavy equipment in Central Asia. In addition to machinery produced for the cotton and textile industry, machines for irrigation projects and for road construction are also prominent. To fuel its industry, Uzbekistan has large reserves of natural gas, petroleum, coal and ferrous and nonferrous metals. The chemical industry of Uzbekistan facilitates cotton growth by producing fertilizers and insecticides for the cotton fields.

The warm climate and mild, short winters of Uzbekistan are well suited for growing crops. Large irrigation projects have supplied water to this dry area making the soil suitable for

growing cotton and related crops (but only with liberal use of fertilizers) and for livestock raising. Uzbekistan's orchards produce grapes, apricots, peaches, figs, apples, pears, and other fruits. Karakul sheep, a breed of sheep distinctive to Uzbekistan, are bred and raised for their thick fur. Cattle are also raised in Uzbekistan.

Uzbek trade is facilitated by a developed transportation network. Several major highways span the territory. Truck and railroad transport account for almost all of the freight carried. Air transport is serviced through the Tashkent International Airport, a major link in routes between Europe and the countries of South and Southeast Asia. Besides cotton, Uzbekistan's exports include farm machinery, fertilizers, coal, cement, oil, natural gas, nonferrous metals, textile products, Karakul sheep wool and pelts, grain, and fruit. Imports include wood materials, coke, metal, petroleum products, chemical products, and sugar.

VI. RELIGION

Uzbekistan has been noted as the center of Muslim culture. The Uzbekistan Muslims are of the Sunni branch. The "Uthman Koran," an original transcription of the Koran and a valued part of Muslim culture, is housed in the Tashkent Museum of History of the Peoples of Uzbekistan.

VII. CHRONOLOGY

13th century		Mongol invasions Khanates established
early 14th century		Inhabitants of area converted to Islam by Khan Uzbek (reigned 1313-1340)
late 14th century		Peoples of region became known as "Uzbeks"
1717		First Russian invasion of Uzbek territory (unsuccessful)
1855		Russian conquest of Fort of Ak-Mechet on the Sydarya River
1866		Russian conquest of Chimkent and Tashkent
1868		Bakhara taken by Russian forces
1874		Appearance of first Uzbek lithographed books
1876		Entire territory of modern day Uzbekistan under Russian control as part of Russian Turkistan
1917	October	Russian revolution
	December	Formation of a Muslim government in Turkistan under the leadership of Mustafa Chokayev
	February	Liquidation of Chokayev government by Soviet forces

		Basmachi Revolt, a nationalist movement in reaction to oppressive Soviet rule, begins
1918	April	Turkistan Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic proclaimed
1919		Lenin dispatches Turkistan Commission to take over authority of Tashkent Government
1924		Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic carved from Turkistan Republic along ethnic lines
1936, 1956, 1963		Territory transferred from Kazakhistan
1937		Uzbek leaders executed during Stalinist purges
	February	Governmental structure of the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic established under the terms of the constitution
1943		Uzbek Academy of Sciences established
1970		Soviet census declares Uzbek nationality as second in size among non-Russian groups (surpassing Byelorussia)
1990	June	First official Uzbek language journal for Muslims, The Light of Islam, goes to press, with a first run of 40,000 copies
	June 7	Violence spills over border of Kyrgyz Republic from fighting in Fergana Valley
	June 8	State of emergency declared in regions near Kyrgyz border
	June 18	Deputies of Uzbek Supreme Soviet demand establishment of USSR commission to investigate the violence in Osh (Fergana Valley).
1991		Uzbekistan declares independence from Soviet Union
	December 19	President Islam Karimov visits Turkey
	December 29	First direct presidential elections held, incumbent Karimov elected with 86% of the vote
1992	January	President Islam Karimov (formerly head of Uzbek communist party) sworn into office
	January 13	Abdulkhashim Mutalov chosen prime minister, filling a newly-created post
	January 14	Law on citizenship allows Uzbeks living abroad benefits of Uzbek citizenship without relinquishing foreign citizenship
	January 15	Karimov proposes Central Asian union with its own armed forces, an advisory council on prices, and free travel between republics
	Jan 19-20	6 people killed by OMON (CIS security forces) troops in student demonstrations, demanding the resignation of Karimov over human rights violations and high prices, in Tashkent; Karimov offers students pre-reform prices and abolishes the Tashkent OMON
	February 17	Uzbekistan joins Economic Cooperation Organization of Muslim states (Turkey, Iran, Pakistan, and other former Soviet Central Asian republics
	March 2	Uzbekistan signs economic cooperation treaty with Hungary
	March 5	Karimov reports discovery of extensive petroleum deposits in Minbulak oil field
	March 19	Uza-TASS announces that Turkish TV, currently being broadcast on a trial basis in Uzbekistan will eventually be extended to all Central Asian republics
	April 11	Karimov makes a 3-day visit to Saudi Arabia for negotiations and pilgrimmage
	April 27	Turkish Prime Minister Demirel signs credit agreements amounting to $500 million with Uzbekistan

	April 29	Karimov enacts measures to assist Uzbek media, including 100 million rubles in subsidies from the state
	May 15	CIS summit meeting takes place in Tashkent; collective security pact signed; hardline deputies of Russian parliament accuse Yeltsin of drunkenness during a press conference held that evening; Yeltsin denies charges
	May 30	Karimov and Yeltsin sign Uzbek-Russian friendship treaty; Uzbekistan agrees to supply 800,000 tons of cotton to Russia in return for Russian fuel
	June 3	Uzbek State Bank announces intention to issue national currency to stem shortage of ruble notes in the republic
	June 29	Head of popular front movement Birlik beaten in Tashkent, a Birlik spokesman claims that the police stood by and watched
	August 5	New democratic liberal party, the Fatherland Progress Party, founded in Tashkent
	August 7	Uzbek border guards lodge complaints with Afghani authorities over unauthorized border crossings into Uzbekistan
	August 10	Uzbek authorities begin extensive document checks on trains from Dushanbe to prevent the flow of refugees from Tajikistan
	September 8	Karimov, worried about unrest in Tajikistan, authorizes closure of Uzbek-Tajik border, appeals to UN
	Sept 11	UN sends mission to Tashkent to study situation
	Dec 6-8	Uzbek delegates participate in conference on "Human Rights and the Fate of Nations" in Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan; seven Uzbek activists arrested immediately afterward
	December 8	New Constitution adopted
1993	January 10	Karimov signs decree on privatization of state farms
	January 20	Abdurakhim Pulatov, chairman of the Uzbek Human Rights Association, jgoes on trial for insulting Karimov
	January 28	Pulatov found guilty of offense and freed

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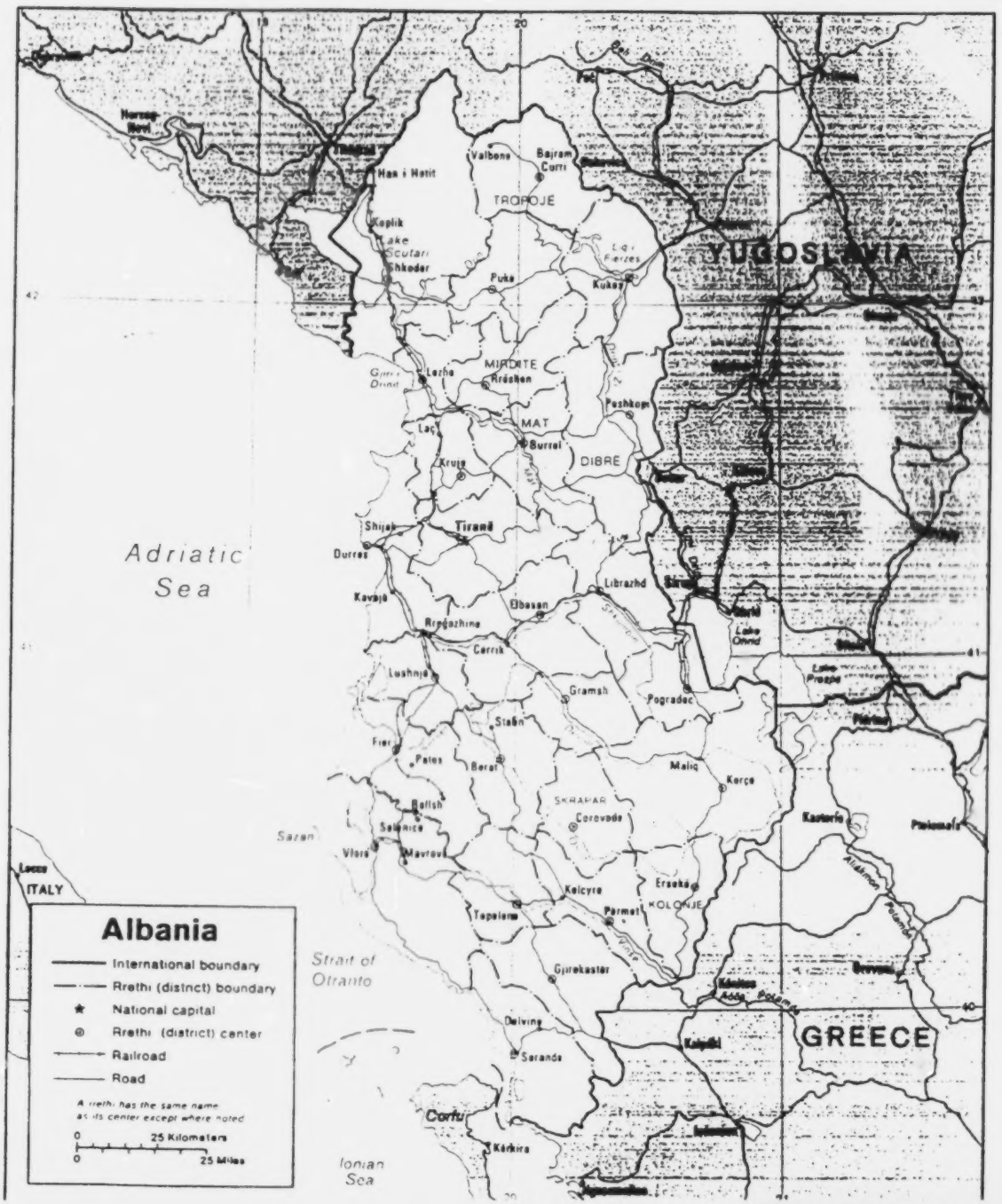
EASTERN EUROPE

ALBANIA

Area: 11,100 sq. miles (28,748 sq. km.)
Population: 2,873,000
Capital: Tirane
Official Language: Albanian
Religion: formerly Islam
Per Capita GNP: US$840



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I. LANGUAGE AND ALPHABET

Albanian is an Illyrian language, the only surviving language of the Thraco-Illyrian group. It is an Indo-European language with a highly inflected grammar characterized by, among other things, a post-posed and inflected definite article. Albanian was written in a number of different alphabets, some of them original, until the early twentieth century, when a modified Roman alphabet was adopted. The Albanians are divided into two tribes: the Gegs and the Tosks. Historically, the Gegs are the northern mountain tribe, while the Tosks are a farming people who live in the southern coastal plains of the country. Modern Albanian is divided into two mutually intelligible dialects, Geg and Tosk, the former of which is characterized by nasal vowels which the latter does not possess. There has been a movement, especially in socialist Albania, to standardize the language and merge the dialects, but this movement has been largely artificial, and Geg and Tosk are still spoken in their respective regions: Geg in the Northeast mountainous region and Tosk in the Southwest plain.

II. GEOGRAPHY

Albania is situated on the Adriatic Sea south of Yugoslavia and north of Greece. Its geographic position has been significant in its history for a number of reasons. The Albanian city of Vlorë occupies a very strategic position on the Strait of Otranto and was an important issue in the tension between Albania and the Soviet Union leading up to the break in relations in 1961. Northeast of Albania is the controversial region of Kosovo, Yugoslavia, where nearly a fifth of the world's ethnic Albanians reside. The region Epirus, in the south, has historically been a point of great tension between the Albanians and the Greeks. Finally, Albania's close proximity to Turkey played a major role in its history; Ottoman rule was one of the most significant factors that shaped the Albania of today.

III. HISTORY

Overview: Early History. The Albanians are descendants of the ancient Illyrians, who were among the earliest inhabitants of the Balkans. They were conquered by a series of nations: the Romans, the Goths, the Bulgars, the Slavs, the Serbs, the Normans, and the Byzantines. The Ottoman Turks, their last overlords, converted a vast majority of the population to Islam in the 15th century. In the 15th century the Albanian chief Skanderbeg led a large-scale anti-Turkish revolt in the Balkans, but this was eventually put down by the Turks, and from the 15th century until 1912, the Albanians remained loyal subjects of the Ottoman Empire, even providing a number of Grand Viziers (prime ministers) to the Ottoman Porte. Within the Ottoman Empire, the Albanians maintained cultural autonomy and preserved their language.

Independent Albania. With the defeat of the Ottoman Empire in the first Balkan War of 1912, Albania became an independent state and German Prince Wilhelm of Wied was elected Albania's king. However, Wilhelm had not served more than six months when World War I broke out and he returned to Germany to lead Central Power troops. From 1914 to 1924 the country was ruled by a tenuous coalition of local tribal leaders. The political situation remained very unstable until 1924, when Ahmed Zogu, a right-wing conservative, took power. Zogu, who proclaimed himself King Zog I in 1928, allowed the then fascist Italian government to gain increasing economic and eventually political control over Albania; Mussolini occupied Albania in 1939. A popular fascist movement, however, never developed in Albania since there was such great popular resentment felt toward the fascist Italians.

Albanian Communism. A communist movement began in Albania in the early 1920s and developed mostly in exile after Zogu took power. This movement was largely split into factions until the early 1940s, when a unified Albanian communist party was formed with the aid of Yugoslav partisans. It led an anti-fascist popular front underground movement that in the spring of 1944 started an offensive that drove out the withdrawing Germans and the rival republican partisan movements. By 1946, all opponents to the new communist government had been purged.

Post World War II - The Hoxha Era. Enver Hoxha did not consolidate his position as the head of the Albanian leadership until 1949. Up until that point, the Albanian leadership had been split into pro- and anti-Yugoslav factions, but Stalin's break with Tito in 1948 allowed Hoxha to take control of the situation and eliminate the pro-Yugoslav elements. Relations with the Soviet Union through the remaining Stalin years were close and profitable, both politically and economically for the Albanians, but Khrushchev's policy of de-Stalinization and his rapprochement with Tito alienated Hoxha. During the late 1950s, Albania grew closer to China, since the Chinese also disagreed with Khrushchev on de-Stalinization and accused him and Tito of "revisionism" - the creative interpretation of Marxism-Leninism. These disagreements were compounded by the Soviet-Chinese friction which was developing at the same time and eventually led to the break in relations between the Soviet Union and Albania in 1961.

The Break with Moscow. The 1961 break was made possible with comprehensive Chinese support. The Chinese filled the gap when Soviet development aid was discontinued. They served as Albania's patrons for 17 years from 1961 to 1978, sending extensive aid as well as specialists and students to Albania. In the early 70s there was some "thaw," but this was ended in 1973 when Hoxha cracked down on youth, culture, and especially military technocrats who he feared would stage a military coup. The mid-70s featured extensive leadership changes as he removed all individuals who might threaten him. This coincided with the break with China in 1978 chiefly over Chinese revisionism both domestically and abroad. After the break with China Albania became almost completely isolated, maintaining relations with few countries in the world. This situation lasted until 1990.

The Reform Process. When Hoxha died in 1985, Ramiz Alia replaced him and Albania began to open up slowly to both the West and the East. Domestically, however, Albania's political and economic structure remained largely unchanged through early 1990. In early February of 1990 the ninth plenum of the Central Committee of the Albanian Workers' Party issued a 25-point reform program. Although the document stipulated that Albania would continue to espouse "freedom, independence, and socialism," the program suggested a new way of thinking on the part of the leadership. Changes included an easing of government control of the media and broader civil and legal rights, which was overseen by the reinstatement of the Ministry of Justice. The changes were limited compared with those taking place elsewhere in Eastern Europe, however. The changes did nevertheless open the way for greatly accelerated reform in 1991 and 1992, initiated by the opening of electoral process with approval of a multi-party system in December 1990. Internationally, Albania restored diplomatic relations with the US and USSR and established them with the European Community (EC) in 1990. Albania also joined the Conference of Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE).

IV. GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS

The 1976 constitution named the Albanian Party of Labor as the vanguard of the working class and the sole leading force of state and society. The party was deeply involved in direction and control of every activity and institution in the political structure. The chief goal of the party was to ensure that there is no retreat from the Stalinist domestic, military and foreign policy of the government. The constitution stipulated that Marxism-Leninism is the official ideology.

The government was led by the 250-member People's Assembly. The Assembly met only twice a year in two- to three-day sessions approving legislative proposals submitted to it and ratifying government actions. The Assembly Presidium consisted of 15 members who served as the nation's legislature when the Assembly is not in session. The Council of Ministers was the government's leading executive and administrative authority and oversees the implementation of party decisions.

In December 1990 the People's Assembly approved the introduction of a multi-party system. Further changes included the dismissal of officials, and a reduction in the terms of office of officials.

In April 1991, the Communist party won the nation's first multiparty elections in decades and proposed a new constitution that called for pluralism and the separation of party and state, but not full democracy. From April to June 1991 a reform-communist government led the country, but in June this government fell and a "government of national salvation" was appointed. This "national salvation" government included members of the Albanian Democratic Party and the democratic opposition. However, due to increasing economic unrest and internal party strife, in December the Albanian Democratic Party resigned its government portfolios, causing the government to collapse. President Alia then appointed Vilson Ahmeti as prime minister, and in turn Ahmeti appointed a nineteen-member caretaker cabinet of technocrats. At the end of December 1991, President Alia announced that new general elections would be held March 22, 1992.

The Albanian Democratic Party won a landslide victory in the March 1992 democratic elections. It won 62% of the vote and 92 seats in the 140 seat Parliament. 90% of the eligible voters went to the polls. The near total collapse of the economy in 1991 assured the defeat of the Socialists. The leadership of the Albanian Democratic Party, however, is almost completely dominated by intellectuals, removed from the Albanian masses. Continued economic decline overshadowed political events and the electorate voiced its dissatisfaction in the first democratic local elections held in July, when the Democratic Party polled a mere two percent more votes than the Socialists.

The new regime, under the guidance of President Sali Berisha and Prime Minister Aleksandar Meksi instituted an economic reform plan in the Spring on 1992.

V. ECONOMY

The economy inherited by the Communists in 1945 was devastated and underdeveloped. The goal of the communist government was to transform the homeland from a backward agrarian nation to a modern industrial agricultural state. To realize this, high priority was placed on self-sufficiency and immunity from foreign economic coercion. The rapid development of industry was prescribed, as well as the exploitation of natural resources such as oil, chrome, iron, copper, and water for hydropower. All industry was nationalized and agriculture was collectivized.

The economy sustained high growth until 1961, when Soviet aid was withdrawn. Growth picked up again in 1966 with Chinese aid. The 1970s, however, were difficult times as growth slowed due to breakdowns in labor discipline and the inability to absorb aid. In the mid-1970s, the cuts in Chinese aid resulted in prolonged economic stagnation. This was chiefly seen in agriculture and has resulted in unmet agricultural targets and some food shortages.

In an effort to stimulate the economy, a Central Committee proposal of February 1990 called for unlimited economic decentralization and an increase in foreign trade, with top priority given to consumer goods and industrial products. The Albanian economy continued to suffer serious shortfalls, including mass strikes and rising unemployment. This worsening economic situation led to the mass exodus of some 20,000 Albanians to Italy in August 1991. By this time the country became almost totally dependent of foreign aid including the massive distribution of food, mostly carried out by the Italian government. In 1991 total production dropped by more than 50%, foreign indebtedness had risen to $600 million and inflation stood at the rate of 600% annually. Unemployment stood at 50% and was rising. Crime and a general sense of lawlessness spread throughout the country. This was complicated by the fact that the old custom of the blood feud reemerged.

Albania has made efforts to decentralize its economy by continuing to privatize industry, by distributing collectivized land to individual peasants, and by setting up banking and agricultural support facilities to help small-scale farmers.

VI. RELIGION

In 1966 Albania declared itself an atheist state by law and religious observances were banned. In 1990 the ban on religion was dropped and mosques and churches were reopened. Estimates of the religious composition of Albania are: Muslim-70%; Albanian Orthodox-20%, predominantly in southern Albania; and Roman Catholic and other-10%, with most Roman Catholics in northern Albania and the town of Shkodër.

VII. CHRONOLOGY

1300-750 BC	Indo-European tribes settle on the Balkan Peninsula
1468	Completion of the conquest of Albania by Ottoman Empire
1878	The League of Prizren -- the birth of Albanian nationalism
1912-13	First Balkan War-revolt against Turks and independence

1925		Proclaimed a republic
1939		Occupied by Italy
1946	January	Republic proclaimed by Enver Hoxha
1949	December	Anti-Tito purges in Albania
1954	June	Party reorganized along Soviet lines
1959	July	Trade and economic agreement signed with USSR
1961	February	4th Party Congress--denigrates peaceful coexistence, supporting China against USSR
	May	Sejka, leader of Pro-Soviet faction arrested
	October	USSR 22nd Party Congress denounces Albania; Albania leaves CMEA
	November	East European ambassadors withdrawn
	December	USSR breaks ties
1974	March	Widespread purges because of Hoxha's denunciation of superpower detente
	September	Defense Minister Ballaku executed in purge
1976	April	Purges of pro-Chinese leaders begin
1978	July	China ends all economic and technical aid
1982	November	USSR attempts to establish relations rebuffed
1985	January	Greek-Albanian economic agreement signed
	April	Hoxha dies; Ramiz Alia succeeds him
1989	December	Student protests in Tirana
1990	January	Student demonstrations in Shkodër
	February	Albanian Workers Party issues 25-point reform program
	May	United Nations Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar visits Tirana; Parliament announces intention to join Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE)
	July	Albania and USSR sign protocol normalizing bilateral relations, which had been suspended for 29 years
		Exodus of almost 5,000 Albanian refugees to Italy and Greece
	Sept-Oct	Alia address United Nations General Assembly; meets with Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze
	October	Albania's most prominent writer, Ismail Kadare, defects to France
	November	Albania fails to achieve full membership in CSCE
	December	People's Assembly approves multiparty system
		Albanian Democratic Party founded
1991	Feb.-March	Thousands of Albanians flee to Italy and Greece; since June 1990 more than 80,000 Albanians (mostly young) have left the country

February 4	As talks about restoring U.S.-Albanian diplomatic relations continue, President Bush requests money for an embassy in Albania
February 6	Thousands of students at Enver Hoxha University in Tirana go on strike to demand changes in the government, better living conditions, and a new name for the university
February 8-9	In response to student protests, government announces the drafting of a new law that would remove army, police, and courts from communist control
February 20	Crowds in Tirana and other cities pull down statues of the late Stalinist dictator Enver Hoxha; authorities capitulate to students' demand that Hoxha's name be dropped from university's official name
February 21	Anti-communist crowds of about 10,000 continue to gather in Tirana
February 22	President Alia names a new government to be headed by party economist Fatos Nano
February 26	Alia calls for a national referendum to decide on the legacy of Enver Hoxha, an issue that has polarized Albanians
February 27	A Soviet diplomat is posted to Albania for the first time since the two countries broke off relations in 1961
March 15	Diplomatic relations with U.S. are resumed after break of more than 50 years
March 17	Government announces release of 175 political prisoners; opposition spokesmen claim that many more are still being held
March 20	Prime Minister Fatos Nano claims that private enterprise is the only hope for reviving the economy
March 31	The Communist party wins Albania's first multiparty elections in decades due to support of Albania's largely rural population
April 10	Communist party proposes a constitution that would foster pluralism, the right to private property and free enterprise, human rights, and the separation of party and state. The document gives broad powers to the president and drops the word socialist from Albania's official name. It does not call for full democracy
April 30	Parliament re-elects Ramiz Alia as President of Albania
May 2	Prime Minister Fatos Nano resigns
May 4	Albanian President Ramiz Alia resigns his communist party offices, upholding the new constitutional principle of the separation of party and most state or government offices
May 9	Fatos Nano reappointed Prime Minister
May 10	In an address to the People's National Assembly, Prime Minister Nano admits Albania has a foreign debt of some $350 million and up to 50,000 unemployed workers
May 13-22	Prime Minister Nano and Foreign Affairs Minister Muhamet Ismail Kapllani are in London for talks with the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development and with British diplomatic officials; Britain announces the restoration of diplomatic relations with Albania
May 16-23	A nationwide, general strike, called by independent Albanian unionists, paralyzes 90% of the country's enterprises; the workers are demanding raises of up to 100%, the right to observe religious holidays, and an end to night shifts and heavy work for women
June 4	Nano's reform-communist government resigns; a "government of national salvation" is scheduled to be set up, the Communists agreeing to a broad-based government and early elections in return for involving the opposition in governing the country and helping to end the on-going strike
June 5	Ylli Bufi, a former nomenklaturist but described as "an honest and credible man committed to democracy," is appointed prime minister and whose cabinet will include members of the democratic opposition
June 10	The nationwide general strike ends after the workers' key demands are met, including a 25% pay increase; the strike is believed to have precipitated the end of 47 years of communist rule in Albania; Congress of the Albanian Workers' Party opens and votes to change its name to the Albanian Socialist Party
June 11-12	A new coalition government is named, and approved by the legislature on June 12, with the communists gaining 12 portfolios, 7 to the Democratic Party, and the remaining 5

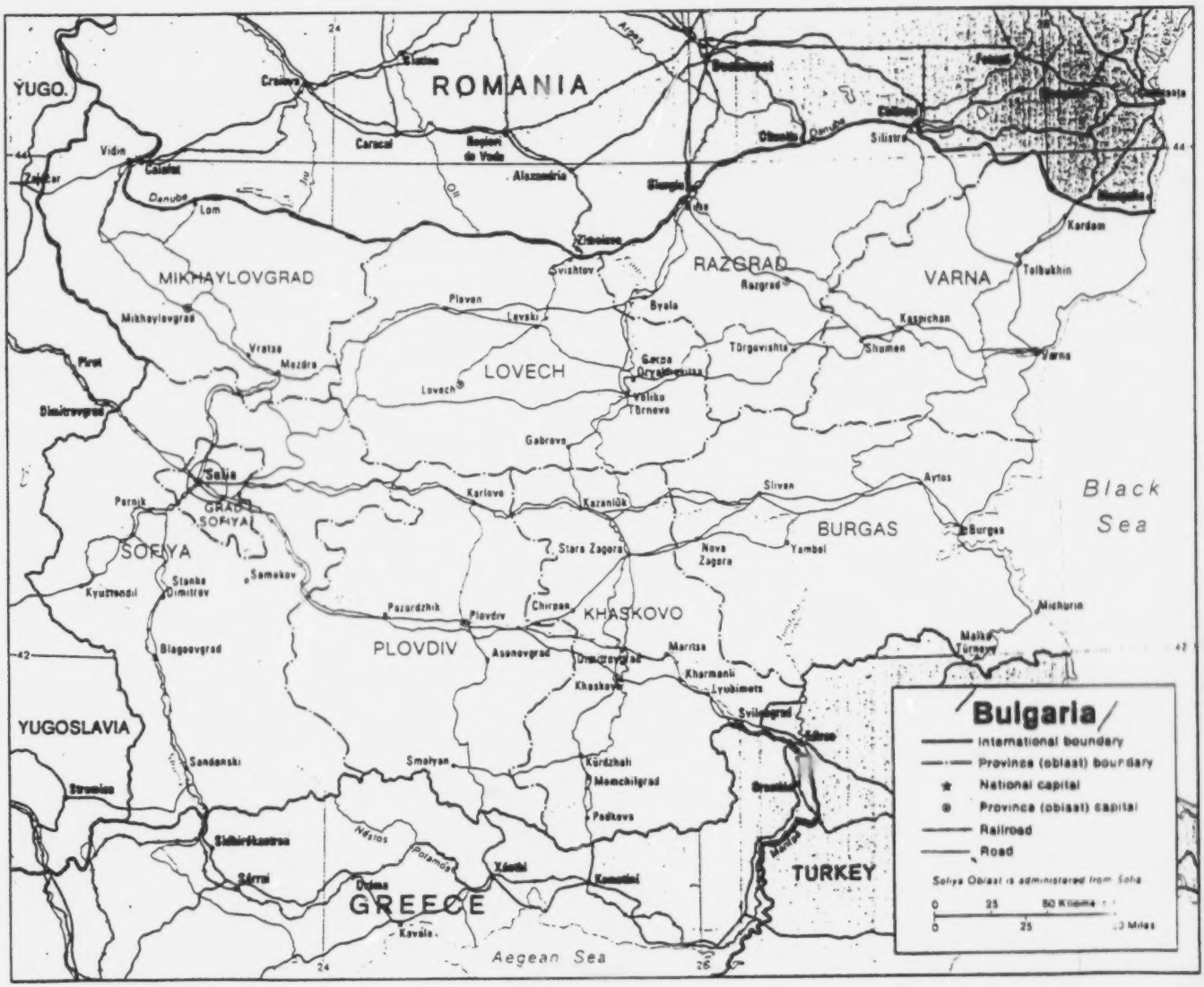
		divided among 3 smaller parties; Gramoz Pashko, leader of the Democratic Party, was named Deputy Prime Minister
	June 13	Italy offers $50 million in aid and asks Albanian authorities to redouble their efforts to ensure that Italy is not inundated with Albanian refugees; the Group of 24 announces it will send a mission to determine Albania's eligibility for Western aid; the European Community announces it will establish diplomatic relations with Albania
	June 19	Albania joins the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, expecting international economic, technological, and financial aid and allowing human rights and other inspection teams to enter Albania
	June 22	US Secretary of State James Baker visits Albania, promising $6 million in food and medical aid
	July 4	In a meeting in the Vatican with Pope John Paul II, Prime Minister Ylli Bufi announces that Albania and the Holy See would resume diplomatic relations after a break of 45 years
	July 11	The Albanian legislature passes a resolution calling for the Kosovo region of Yugoslavia to form a republic in a reorganized, democratic Yugoslavia and threatened action if Serbia used violence against Albanians in Kosovo
	July 29	Since the advent of the new coalition government, economic and financial indices have fallen and industrial production has shrunk below 50%; the Council of Ministers recommends that privatization be accelerated and the law on land ownership be quickly applied; it is announced that the distribution of land among peasants will be complete in September
	August 5	Authorities announce that land plots are being surveyed and banking and support facilities will be set up to supply credits, machinery, seeds, and fertilizer to help increase agricultural productivity on lands distributed to peasants
	August 8	Thousands of Albanians storm ships in Albanian harbors and set sail for Italy; the Italian authorities refuse to let them land; Albanian authorities announce they have put four ports under military control to try to stem the exodus
	August 9-18	Enforcing a blanket policy of repatriation, Italian authorities begin the immediate deportation of over 17,000 Albanians who have arrived in the previous week
	August 12-13	Italian Foreign Minister Gianni de Michaelis and Italian President Francesco Cossiga arrive in Tirana for talks, offering more than $100 million in food and raw materials
	September 14	Over 100,000 people protest in Tirana the continued communist influence in the government, particularly that of President Ramiz Alia
	September 17	The Group of 24 industrialized nations agrees to provide more than $150 million in emergency aid while the European Community agrees to send up to $46 million for food aid
	September 25	Italy launches Operation Pelican, an emergency aid program for Albania
	October 17	President Ramiz Alia arrives in Turkey for talks and receives promises of aid for Albania
	December 4	Coalition government of Prime Minister Bufi falls after the Albanian Democratic Party announces it is giving up its portfolios
	December 5	Nexhmije Hoxha, widow of former Albanian leader Enver Hoxha, is arrested
	December 12	President Alia appoints Vilson Ahmeti as prime minister
	December 14	A new nineteen-member caretaker cabinet of technocrats is announced
	December 21	President Alia announces that general elections will be held March 22, 1992
1992	mid-January	During an official visit to Athens, Greece, an Albanian official disclosed that 230 criminals, including 24 facing charges of murder, had escaped to Greece in 1991.
	March 1-7	Looting and rioting in a number of Albanian towns increased.
	March 22	The Albanian Democratic Party scored a landslide victory over the Albanian Socialist Party (former Communists.) With 90% of the eligible voters going to the polls, the Democratic Party won 62% of the vote and 92 seats in the 140 seat Parliament.
	March 25	Dr. Sali Berisha, Democratic Party leader, was quoted as saying that his party would be more assertive in defending the Albanians in Yugoslavia than the Socialists had been.

March 31	Italy's Operation Pelican, its aid program for Albania is officially concluded. During its first six months, the operation provided Albania with about 130,000 tons of food and with other commodities, such as soap and detergent. Italy pledges it will continue to supply aid, despite conclusions of the operation.
April 9	Dr. Sali Berisha, the leader of the Albanian Democratic Party, is elected President of Albania by the new democratically elected Parliament. Before Berisha's election, amendments to the Constitution were passed that enhanced Presidential power, enabling Berisha to call, attend and chair cabinet meetings and give direct orders to members of the government.
April 13	The first non-Communist cabinet elected, headed by Prime Minister Aleksandar Meksi, a founder of Democratic Party. Meksi states that his priorities are the restoration of law and order and the transformation of the paralyzed economy.
April 16	National Conference of Democratic Parted elects Eduard Selami as chairmen of the party as Sali Berisha's replacement. Berisha was forced to resign the post upon his election to President of Albania, in accordance with the Constitution.
April 18	Prime Minister Meksi announced his economic reform program. The program includes: complete privatization of land; gradual privatization of most state enterprises as well as retail trade, transport and mining; selling state housing to residents; the termination of food price subsidies and the policy whereby the unemployed, currently 50% of workforce, receive 80% of their wages.
May 6	Albania's leading writer and a prominent dissident, Ismail Kadare, returns to Albania, after 18 months in exile in France.
May 9	Ismail Kadare is received by President Berisha.
June 5	Albania is formally admitted to the North Atlantic Cooperation Council, established by NATO as a forum to discuss its former adversaries.
June 15	Albanian President met with U.S. President George Bush in Washington, D.C. The two leaders signed a trade treaty.
June 16	President Berisha is quoted as calling for "any effort to prevent the shift of the [Yugoslav] conflict to Kosovo which means at the same time the involvement of Macedonia and Albania and the precipitation of a Balkan War.
June 25	The Democratic Party parliamentary group votes to expel Gramaz Pasko, one of the party's founding members, signifying the growing within the ruling party.
June 25	Albania, along with Armenia, Azerbaijan, Bulgaria, Georgia, Greece, Moldova, Romania, Russia, Turkey and Ukraine sign the Black Sea Economic Cooperation Accord.
July 26	In Albania's first democratic local elections, the Socialist Party won 22 of 43 mayoralships while the Democratic Party won 19. On the basis of popular vote, the Democratic Party, which controls Parliament after a landslide victory in March, won 43% of the vote, only 2% more than the Socialists 41%. The gap between local and central authority has been widened
August 10	Yugoslav Prime Minister Milan Panić visits Tirana. In a meeting with Albanian Prime Minister Meksi, Panić was told Albania supported self-determination for Kosovo's Albanian majority. Panić replied he would discuss autonomy but not self-government.
September 12	Former communist President Ramiz Alia is placed under house arrest on charges of abuse of power and misuse of state funds.
October	A private western consulting group states that Albania's industrial output would drop 17% in 1992. This would mean that Albania's industrial production would drop to only 35% of its 1990 level, the year communist regime collapsed. Only one-third of Albania's 300 largest firms are operating, while unemployment is estimated at 50% and rising.
October 6	Albanian and western news agencies report the discovery of mass graves containing the bodies of 2000 victims of communist terror.
November 27	President Sali Berisha called for air strikes against military facilities and airports in Serbia and Montenegro, saying this is the only way to prevent the spread of war in the

former Yugoslavia. The comments provoked Yugoslavia to lodge a protest which included an attack of Tirana's support for alleged secessionist activities in Kosovo.

BULGARIA

Area: 42,826 sq. miles (110,912 sq. km.)
Population: 8,999,000
Capital: Sophia (1.032 million)
Official Language: Bulgarian
Religion: Eastern Orthodox (27%) Islam (7%)
Unit of Currency: Lev
Per Capita GNP: US$3,390



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I. ALPHABET AND LANGUAGE

Bulgarian is a language of the South-Slavic group, related to Serbo-Croatian. It is written in the Cyrillic alphabet.

II. GEOGRAPHY

Bulgaria is located in the Balkan region of southeastern Europe, on the west coast of the Black Sea. It is bordered by Romania to the north, Yugoslavia to the west and Greece and Turkey to the south. The northern and southern halves of the country are divided by the relatively low altitude Balkan Mountain range which runs east-west from the border with Yugoslavia to the Black Sea. Bulgaria's proximity to Turkey is particularly important since Bulgaria's historically discriminatory policies towards its large, ethnically Turkish minority (10% of the population) have been a source of friction between the two countries.

III. HISTORY

Early History. The Bulgarians are a people of Slavic origin who migrated from their ancient homeland along the Vistula River in what is currently Poland to the more cosmopolitan and culturally sophisticated Eastern Roman Empire of Byzantium between 500 and 700 A.D. Between 800 and 1000 A.D. an Avar people named the Bulgars, one of the many nomadic tribes which roamed the plains north of the Black Sea, swept into the region from the northeast, conquering the Slavic tribes and assimilating them into what became the first Bulgarian Empire, which encompassed nearly the entire Balkan peninsula from the Black to the Adriatic Seas. The Bulgarians were the object of fierce competition between the Roman Catholic Church and the Byzantine, Eastern Orthodox Church, which eventually won the right to convert the Bulgarians to Orthodox Christianity between 865-870 A.D. The First Bulgarian Empire reached its zenith under the Tsar (King) Simeon and rivalled Byzantium for supremacy over the Eastern Roman lands. In 1018 A.D. the Bulgarian Empire was defeated by the Byzantine Emperor Basil II. It was only in the 12th century that the Bulgarians were able to reestablish their kingdom under the Second Bulgarian Empire. In 1330, the Serbs, a rival Slavic tribe occupying the lands immediately west of Bulgaria, subdued the Bulgarians, bringing the early period of Bulgarian history to a close.

Ottoman Rule. The arrival of the Ottoman Turks to the European continent and their conquest of Byzantium in the mid-14th century marked the beginning of a new period in the history of the Balkan Peninsula. Ottoman rule, while associated with Western images of barbaric "infidel" Turks mercilessly persecuting their Christian subjects, has been shown to have been relatively tolerant. Bulgaria's Orthodox religion was permitted, and the Bulgarians were required to pay a head-tax for all male subjects and a child-tribute, which were usually imposed by conquerors over the subjugated. As the Ottoman Empire began to disintegrate in the 17th and 18th centuries, the Phanariots, privileged Greeks who acted as Ottoman administrators, significantly increased their influence in Bulgaria, forbidding the Slavic liturgy, propagating Greek culture in schools and monasteries, and increasing their commercial domination over the Bulgarian economy. Greek discrimination against Bulgarian culture, however, backfired, and fostered a growing national awareness which culminated, with the aid of the Russian army and the defeat of the Ottomans in the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-8, in the formation of the First Bulgarian State. Although this new state successfully annexed territory in 1885 and 1912, its leaders remained unsatisfied with its borders, and sought the creation of a greater Bulgaria reminiscent both of the early Bulgarian empires,

which included Macedonia, and of the greater Bulgarian State provided by the aborted Treaty of San Stefano, which ended the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-8.

The World Wars. In October 1912, Bulgaria allied with Greece, Serbia, and Montenegro to expel the last remnants of the Ottoman Empire from Europe. Turkey was defeated in this First Balkan War and Bulgaria gained Thrace, with its important outlet to the Aegean Sea, and divided Macedonia with Serbia and Greece. But soon Serbia and Greece pressed greater claims to Bulgarian Macedonia, and in June 1913, Bulgaria went to war against Serbia and Greece. Romania, Montenegro, and Turkey joined in the war against Bulgaria, and by the end of the Second Balkan War, Bulgaria had lost much of its previous acquisitions, including most of Macedonia to Serbia, Western Thrace to Greece, Eastern Thrace to Turkey, and Southern Dobrudja to Romania.

In World War I, the Bulgarians joined the Central Powers and attacked Serbia in an attempt to recapture Macedonia. After Bulgaria's defeat in the war and the loss of Macedonia to a newly created Yugoslavia, the Agrarian Union, a peasant, middle-class party, assumed power under the leadership of Alexander Stamboliski. Stamboliski's radical reforms alienated the rural middle-class and traditional elements in the military, who staged his overthrow in 1923. The middle-class parties, in alliance with the military, were able to rule Bulgaria throughout the Second World War, when Bulgaria again entered the war on the side of the Axis to regain Macedonia.

Post World War II. The defeat of the Axis led directly to the Soviet occupation of Bulgaria and the rise of the Bulgarian Communist Party. The Soviets initially sponsored the Fatherland Front, a broad coalition of parties, which opposed the war and came to power after the successful expulsion of German forces. After the abolition of the monarchy and the elections in 1947, opposition parties within the coalition were eliminated and the Bulgarian Communist Party, with Soviet aid, emerged as the sole governing party in Bulgaria. The late forties and early fifties witnessed the further Sovietization of Bulgaria with the establishment of a centrally planned economy, the nationalization of industry, banks, and trade firms, the purges of nationalists such as Traicho Kostov in 1949, and the subordination of the Bulgarian Orthodox Church to the state. The Communist Party was led by Vulko Chervenkov until the death of Stalin in 1953.

Post Stalin. The de-Stalinization campaign of the mid to late 1950s led directly to the rise of Todor Zhivkov. Zhivkov's economic policies were initially consumer oriented, and prioritized light industry and food production over heavy industry. After an aborted coup attempt in 1965 by disgruntled military officers, however, Zhivkov dropped his plans for political and economic relaxation. Bulgaria's domestic situation in the decades which followed closely resembled events in the Soviet Union under Brezhnev. Zhivkov remained aloof of changes occurring in the Soviet Union in the late eighties until May 1989, when he proposed broad reforms. The reforms, however, moved too slowly for the growing popular opposition in Bulgaria, and in November 1989, the aging leader was forced to resign as General Secretary of the Bulgarian Communist Party. In January 1990, the Bulgarian Communist Party relinquished its monopoly of power and opened the door for democratic elections.

IV. GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS

The Bulgarian constitution up until its de facto repeal in the demonstrations of 1990, had officially guaranteed the Bulgarian Communist Party the leading role in society. The Politburo, the highest organ of the Communist Party, which contained eight permanent and six alternate members, was the supreme decision making body. The Secretariat formed the oligarchical locus of power within the Politburo. The Central Committee of leading Communist Party members, the official rubber stamp body, infrequently was convened to legitimize the Politburo's decisions by giving them the appearance of democratic sanction. The larger Party Congress, selected from lower level Communist Party officials, met every five years to officially endorse the Party platform and governmental policies.

The functions of other organizations in Bulgaria were restricted to publicizing and implementing the Party's platform. The Fatherland Front, an umbrella organization of other pro-Communist parties, served to elicit mass participation in the political process. The Agrarian Union served as a similar vehicle but was restricted to agricultural issues. The function of the government was confined to the implementation of decisions of the Party. The State Council served as the highest administrative body, and operated under the mandate of the National Assembly. This larger assembly, in theory the government's supreme organ of state power, in reality was as a rubber stamp body, only infrequently meeting to legitimize and publicize decisions made elsewhere.

The current structure of the Bulgarian political system is similar to that found in West European parliamentary democracies. National elections determine candidates to the Grand National Assembly, the nation's supreme legislative body, which is a single-chamber parliament. The president of the republic is elected by popular vote and upon taking office, chooses a prime minister, usually from the majority party within the legislative assembly. While in the early stages of the revolution, both the president and prime minister were members of the ruling Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP), they are now members of the opposition Union of Democratic Forces (UDF), a broad opposition coalition. The prime minister then selects a cabinet, which is subject to parliamentary approval. The prime minister and cabinet are then responsible, within the limitations of their political base, for drafting the government's program for running the country. Should the prime minister's popular base erode, the president has the power either to request that a new member of parliament form a government or to call for new national elections. The Supreme Court ensures the constitutionality of government procedures and legislation. While this is the political structure of the Bulgarian political system to date, it is important to keep in mind that the Bulgarian constitution, and with it the political system, are currently in a state of revision and that further changes are likely to take place in the future.

Following the parliamentary elections of Fall 1991, the Union of Democratic Forces (UDF) emerged as the strongest party, gaining 110 seats of the 240 seat parliament, followed by the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP) with 106 seats and the ethnic Turkish Movement for Rights and Freedoms (MRF) with 24 seats. The UDF announced that it would seek to form a coalition government with the MRF, but would demure on granting the MRF important cabinet portfolios in order not to escalate anti-Turkish hostility among the populace.

In January 1992, presidential and vice presidential elections were held. Zhelyu Zhelev and Blaga Dimitrova, the UDF candidates for president and vice president, respectively, gained 44.6% of the vote, while nationalist candidates backed by the BSP Velko Valkanov and

Rumen Vodenicharo received 30.4% of the vote and independent candidates George Ganchev and Petar Beron received 16.8% of the vote, forcing a runoff between Zhelev/Dimitrova and Valkanov/Vodenicharo. In runoff elections one week later, Zhelev and Dimitrova were elected by 52.8% to their rivals' 47.1%.

On October 28, 1992 the UDF government fell and resigned on a motion of no confidence from the National Assembly. The government had been the focus of criticism for months because of its tough anti-communist stance and strict adherence to policies of economic austerity. The resignation of the government followed the collapse of the internal coalition between the UDF and the MRF. On December 30, the National Assembly approved a new government with Lyuben Berov as Prime Minister with the support of an ad hoc coalition of defecting deputies from all three major parties, the UDF, BSP and MRF.

V. ECONOMY

The Bulgarian economy continues to be in a period of transition.

The Bulgarian economy until 1990 was an administrative command or centrally planned economy in which decisions were made from above through a hierarchical institutional structure. Economic policy focussed on converting Bulgaria's rural, primarily agriculturally oriented economy into an urban industrial one. Government policies, similar to those found in the Soviet Union, involved both the collectivization of agriculture and the forced industrialization of the Bulgarian economy. Priority as well, was given to heavy versus consumer goods industries. State investment, thus, targeted machine building, chemicals, and metallurgy. Industrialization brought social changes as well. As a result, the Bulgarian population, which in 1948 was over 80% peasant, was transformed into what is currently a highly educated, urban and blue collar one.

The economic system has been plagued by inefficiency however. Attempts at reform prior to 1990 consisted mostly of "administrative tinkering" directed towards eliminating waste, increasing enterprise accountability and reducing bureaucratic red tape. Reforms also consisted of administrative reorganizations such as those of the 1970s involving the creation of giant agro-industrial complexes. These sought to horizontally integrate agricultural production units in an attempt to increase specialization and decrease costs associated with mechanization. The results of these reforms, as with others, were limited.

The Bulgarian economy is currently making progress toward a free market system. The stringent austerity measures, limited monetary convertibility, and other measures introduced to encourage state and enterprise cost accounting are elements of this transition. The dwindling of Soviet fuel exports to Bulgaria and its need to establish commercial relations outside of the Soviet Bloc, have also lent impetus to the reform program. Some details of the reform program in Bulgaria remain to be worked out, and the plan itself is still in its very early stages, Bulgaria is currently moving towards the development of an economy based on market principles and private enterprise. These moves have led to price increases of 500-1000% in efforts to bring prices in line with Western ones, while the cost of living doubled from 1989 to 1990. Between January 1991 and March 1992 prices increased by 810%. In attempts to promote private enterprise, in December 1991 the National Assembly passed laws restoring shops, workshops, and warehouses, forcibly sold to the state at extremely low prices, to their original owners. In March 1992, an amended version of the Law on

Farmland passed, providing for the return of collectivized land to its former owners. The government also promised, in September 1992, the eminent privatization of some 92 state-run companies. Bulgaria has also received some international aid in this transition period. In May 1990 Bulgaria signed a ten-year trade accord with the European Community, in October of the same year Turkey pledged $75 million in credits, and in April 1991 the United States granted Bulgaria most-favored-nation status. In 1992 the IMF granted $212 million credit to support economic reform. Bulgaria, also in 1992, joined the Council of Europe and began negotiation with the European Community on future association. Finally, Bulgaria in June 1992, signed the Black Sea Economic Cooperation Accord along with Russia, Albania, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, Greece, Moldova, Romania, Turkey and the Ukraine.

VI. RELIGION

Accepting Christianity from Byzantium in the ninth century, the Bulgarians have remained predominately Orthodox (85%). Turkish Muslims make up another 10%, while ethnic Bulgarian Muslims, called Pomaks, constitute about 3%.

Under the communist regime the dominant Bulgarian Orthodox Church was closely affiliated with the government. With the collapse of communism, the Church has been in disarray. Some members of the hierarchy, trying to purge the Church of its communist past, have attempted to re-form the hierarchy, in affect creating a new Church leadership. Conflict about the re-constitution of the Bulgarian Orthodox Church continues.

VII. CHRONOLOGY

500-700		Slavic tribes migrate into Balkans
800-1000		First Bulgars take possession of land between Danube and Black Sea
865-70		Bulgarians converted to Christianity
893-927		"First" Bulgarian Kingdom stretches from Adriatic to Black Sea
1018		Basil II annexes Bulgaria to Byzantine Empire
12th Cent.		Bulgarians rise and establish Second Bulgarian Empire
1330		Bulgaria defeated by Serbia; becomes vassal
1393		Bulgaria comes under Ottoman Rule
1878		First independent Bulgarian state established
1912-13		First Balkan War--Bulgaria joins coalition against Turkey, reducing Turkish territory
1913		Second Balkan War--Bulgaria attacks Serbia and Greece; Romania and Turkey join later--loses much of gains of First Balkan War
1915		Bulgaria Enters WW I with Central Powers, attacking Serbia
1918		Bulgaria collapses at end of WW I, losing territory to Greece and Yugoslavia
1940	August	With the aid of Axis pressure, Bulgaria reclaims Southern Dobrudja from Romania

6 BULGARIA

1940-1944		Bulgaria joins the Axis in WW II in hopes of recovering lost territory, especially Macedonia and Thrace
1946	March	Georgiev cabinet resigns
	September	Monarchy rejected in plebiscite; People's Republic proclaimed
	October	Fatherland Front wins majority in Bulgarian National Assembly; Communist dominated cabinet under Georgi Dimitrov
1947	December	Soviets evacuate all forces
1948	December	Dimitrov enunciates "People's Democracy" Theory
1949	April	Traicho Kostov removed as deputy prime minister for nationalist deviation
	December	Kostov and nine others tried and hanged
1950	August	250,000 Turkish Moslems expelled
	October	Purges of officials and cabinet begins
	November	Soviet nationals granted same rights as Bulgarian citizens
1954		Todor Zhivkov takes Secretariat, releases political prisoners; highest rate of collectivization in Eastern Europe
1956	February	Kostov rehabilitated
1957	February	1500 student sympathizers of Hungarian revolt expelled from university
	July	Cabinet shakeups--advocates of close ties with Yugoslavia ousted
1959		Zhivkov puts forward plans for full collectivization of agriculture and decentralization of industry
1962	November	Zhivkov ousts Yugov and Chervenkov groups from party in fight over de-Stalinization
1963	May	Re-centralization of industry and agriculture
1965	April	Plot against Zhivkov by liberals in Central Committee and Sofia Military District uncovered
1969	March	Warnings against deviationism and Westernization by Zhivkov
	August	Agreement with Turkey on repatriation of ethnic Turks
1975	November	Zhivkov visits Federal Republic of Germany and signs trade and economic agreements
1980	June	Joint ventures with non-communist foreign enterprises allowed
1986		Helsinki Watch reports killings of ethnic Turks in Bulgaria
1987	May	Zhivkov pushes broad reforms, attacks party and proposes reducing role of government in economy
1989	November 10	Todor Zhivkov resigns as Secretary General of the Bulgarian Communist Party; Petar Mladenov is elected to replace him
	December 13	Todor Zhivkov is expelled from the Bulgarian Communist Party
1990	January 15	The Bulgarian Communist Party relinquishes its role as the leading party in Bulgaria
	January 18	Todor Zhivkov is arrested for "incitement of ethnic hostility and hatred, the unwarranted receipt of excessive amounts of public property, and gross abuse of power"
	February 1	Prime Minster Georgi Atanasov and his government resign amid charges of incompetence and of being a holdover from the Zhivkov regime
	February 2	Petar Mladenov replaced by Alexander Lilov as Presidium Chairman

February 3	Elected Prime Minister Andrei Lukanov proposes formation of a national coalition government
February 4	Bulgaria's Christian Republican Party debates the question of Bulgaria as a republic or a monarchy; the Bulgarian Democratic Monarchist Party of Plovdiv calls for restoration of King Simeon II to the throne
February 8	National Assembly approves all-communist cabinet; decision is protested by several hundred people
February 20	Prime Minister Boyko Dimitrov opposes disbanding of Warsaw Pact as long as NATO still exists
February 25	200,000 people hold three-hour demonstration in Sofia to protest alleged Bulgarian Communist Party stalling of reforms
February 28	8 more parties join the opposition coalition the Union of Democratic Forces; the Bulgarian Agrarian Union also announces its shift to opposition status and calls for privatization of all land
March 2-3	30,000 miners strike at four mines; 150,000 opposition protesters rally, calling for an accelerated transition to democracy
March 4	Thousands of Bulgarian Muslims demand speedy restoration of their original, traditional Muslim names
March 9	150,000 demonstrators call for a free press
March 24-6	The Ministry of Internal Affairs suggests that exit visas be lifted for travel to the West, and 865 of Bulgarian Communist Party members are reported to be in favor of changing the name of the Party to the Bulgarian Socialist Party
March 29	The former Deputy Internal Affairs Minister is arrested on charges of sanctioning the widespread use of torture in Bulgarian labor camps
March 30	The Bulgarian National Bank stops interest payments on its foreign debt
April 3	All mention of socialism and communism in the state constitution is omitted
April 5	The dismantling of fortifications along the border with Yugoslavia begins
April 20	The government reports that production for 1990 dropped 9% amid increasing shortages of consumer goods
May 4	The Bulgarian currency, the lev, is devalued 20%
May 8	A 10-year trade accord between Bulgaria and the European Economic Community is signed
June 1	Pre-election violence intensifies and the Interior Ministry announces payment of a lump sum to victims of political repression since 1946
June 7	1.5 million demonstrate in Sofia in support of the umbrella opposition party the Union of Democratic Forces
June 10	Amid mounting violence, electoral abuses and general chaos, 90.74 % of eligible voters go to the polls in the first round of national elections to determine the composition of the new parliament, the Grand National Assembly; the Bulgarian Socialist Party emerges as the single largest party, closely followed by the opposition Union of Democratic Forces, which charges fraud in the elections
June 17	The second round of national elections is held for 81 disputed seats, reaffirming the proportional distribution of seats after the first round
June 29	Strikes spread to more than six cities as students protest alleged widespread election fraud
July 6	Bulgarian President Peter Mladenov of the Bulgarian Socialist Party resigns amid growing popular opposition; later in the month a survey indicates that popular dissatisfaction is resulting in a "brain drain" to the West
July 17	Nikolay Todorov, a member of the ruling Bulgarian Socialist Party, is elected chairman of the parliament
July 21	Ethnic tensions mount as Muslim nationalists demand a recall of their parliamentary representatives in protest of official discrimination
July 24	Over a million workers strike in protest of government dilatoriness in addressing issues of reform; the day before gasoline and oil prices had doubled in a government move to end shortages
July 27	The Minister of Internal Affairs is forced to resign for his role in protecting Todor Zhivkov
August 1	The renowned dissident philosopher Zhelyu Zhelev is elected President of Bulgaria in the sixth round of elections held by the Grand National Assembly

August 7	The Bulgarian Socialist Party reveals that over 122,000 people have left its ranks since January
August 22	Prime Minister Andrey Lukanov and his cabinet resign after a report of his first term in office is harshly criticized; the next day the National Assembly passes a resolution condemning the 1968 Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia
August 31	The Petrol oil enterprise reports that the decline in Soviet deliveries of crude oil has cut gasoline supplies in Bulgaria by 50%; the next day the government announces that sugar rationing would begin
September 18	The government announces a prohibition export of foodstuffs; the next day, Andrey Lukanov is reelected as Prime Minister, amid protests from the Union of Democratic Forces objecting to the one party composition of his cabinet
September 25	The United States announces it will donate 100,000 tons of corn to Bulgaria this year
October 7	The United States grants Bulgaria most favored nation status; two days later the government announces the intensification of gasoline rationing
October 13	A public opinion poll indicates growing support for Bulgaria's opposition; later in the month, 250,000 residents of the city of Ruse threaten to leave in protest of environmental pollution
October 20	The Alternative Socialist Association splits from the Bulgarian Socialist Party, taking with it 67 delegates of the Grand National Assembly
October 26	Turkey announces it would loan Bulgaria supplies of fuel and electricity, as well as provide credits worth $75,000,000; the next day Iran announces it would deliver between 1-1.5 million tons of oil to Bulgaria
November 16	The Bulgarian Parliament voted to restore the original names of ethnic Turks discriminated against under Todor Zhivkov's Communist regime; also, opposition member Dimitar Lozanchev is elected President of the Supreme Court
November 26	A nationwide general strike begins and ethnic tensions within Bulgaria continue
November 30	Prime Minister Lukanov resigns amid growing criticism
December 7	President Zhelev calls on Dimitar Popov to form a new transitional government
December 14	The Bulgarian Socialist Party reports that its membership has fallen to barely 250,000, down from 1,000,000 in June

1991

January 7	Pro-monarchist sentiments gain ground amid criticism of these yearnings by President Zhelev
January 18	The government requests a moratorium on the payments of its foreign debt
January 28	The government reports that archives from the State Security Forces are missing; also announces that widespread price hikes will go into effect on a wide range of products and services
February 1	Price hikes on foodstuffs of 500-700% and on fares of 1,000% take effect; the prime interest rate also is raised from 15% to 45%
February 4-7	The government announces that the cost of living doubled in 1990, and the next week discloses that the crime rate rose by 70% the previous year Widespread chaos ensues as price hikes averaging between 300-1000% take effect
February 18	At the urging of the International Monetary Fund, Bulgaria institutes a limited currency convertibility regime
February 22	Grand National Assembly passes land reform law which will return collectivized land to their former owners or heirs
February 25	The trial of Todor Zhivkov on charges of embezzlement begins
March 27	The Bulgarian Socialist Party releases a document on "political responsibility" in which is assumes responsibility for the present economic, social, and political crisis and the delay of economic reform, but it also criticizes other political forces for their part in the country's predicament
April 22	A bilateral trade treaty is signed with the US, opening the way for most favored nation status and setting other accords on economic cooperation and tourism
June 7	US Vice President Dan Quayle visits Sofia, where he holds talks with President Zhelyu Zhelev; the two sign agreements guaranteeing US investments in Bulgaria and 200,000 tons of free corn for Bulgaria

June 12-13	NATO Secretary-General Manfred Woerner visits Sofia and meets with all top parliamentary and government officials; Woerner states that no Balkan country threatens its neighbors' security and that Bulgarian-Turkish relations depend on Bulgaria's attitude toward its ethnic Turks
June 18	Israeli President Chaim Herzog addresses the Grand National Assembly, stressing Bulgaria's role in saving its Jews during WW II and pledging Israel's help and support for Bulgarian democracy and the country's market economy
June 25	Bulgaria's first commodity exchange opens in Sofia, offering food and goods once a week in an attempt to avoid further intermediaries in trade and to allow prices to adapt to supply and demand
June 28	The Vienna-based International Atomic Energy Agency states that the Bulgarian nuclear power plant at Kozloduy poses the risk of an accident because of defective construction and the departure of Soviet specialists and recommends that it be shut down, but Bulgaria refuses to do so because of its need for power
July 12	The Grand National Assembly adopts a new constitution for Bulgaria
July 17	The European Community sets up a $13.1 million emergency program to improve the safety of the kozloduy nuclear power plant
July 22	The US government announces that it is setting up a $5 million fund to help the growth of private businesses in Bulgaria, particularly in the agricultural sector
July 25	Prompted by mass ecological protests, the Council of Ministers decides to phase out the production of lead by the end of 1991 and to not finish the nuclear power plant in Belene, but to convert it to natural gas
July 26	Parment Capital Investments of the US and the Bulgarian Chamber of Trade and Industry establish the country's first joint-venture bank, each holding a 50% share and a starting capital of $2.8 million
August 15	The Bulgarian Socialist Party forms a pre-election union with five minor parties, most of them known to have strong nationalist, i.e. anti-Turkish, orientation
August 24	A party called Rights and Freedoms, headed by Ahmed Dogan, leader of the mainly ethnic Turkish Movement for Rights and Freedoms, applies to register with the Sofia Municipal Court
August 27-30	Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir announces that agreements have been reached on trade as well as economic, industrial, and technological cooperation, with Israel providing Bulgaria credits up to $3 million and promoting joint ventures and with Bulgaria agreeing to act as a transit point for Soviet immigrants to Israel
August 28	The Sofia Municipal Court decides not to register the new Rights and Freedoms party on the grounds that the party threatens the unity of the nation by dividing citizens over ethnic, religious, and linguistic differences
September 3	The two oldest 440-megawatt reactors at the Kozloduy nuclear power plant are closed
September 4	Twenty-six US Peace Corps volunteers are sworn in to work in Bulgaria over a period of two years, mainly as teachers of mathematics and natural science
September 11	The Bulgarian Supreme Court upholds the Sofia City Court's decision of August 28 not to register the Rights and Freedoms Party, arguing that the party is organized along narrow ethnic and religious lines
September 12	Bulgaria is sharply criticized at the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) human rights meeting for not permitting political parties based on ethnicity or religion
September 13	Parliament sets date for presidential election for 13 January 1992; the president will be elected for a five-year term and may be reelected only once
Sept 19-24	On an official visit to the US, President Zhelyu Zhelev meets with Vice President Dan Quayle, who announces three assistance programs for Bulgaria: one to be used for training government officials and two to fund a health-care support program; Zhelev also argues that Bulgaria should be considered on a par with Poland, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia with regard to trade and assistance; US also agrees to help Bulgaria reform its police and intelligence agencies
September 20	Mario Ricci, the newly appointed Papal Nuncio to Sofia, leaves the country in protest over the failure to return the Vatican's former embassy building to the Catholic Church; the Bulgarian Supreme Court confirms the registration of the Movement for Rights and Freedoms in time for the October elections

October 1	The National Assembly passes a law prohibiting the teaching of minority languages in Bulgarian schools; Ethnic Turkish students begin a boycott of classes
October 7	Prime Minister Dimitar Popov and Greek Prime Minister Constantinos Mitsotakis sign a treaty on friendship, good neighborliness, cooperation, and security, valid for 20 years and containing clauses on the exchange of military information, consultation among senior military officials, and coordinated action in case of a threat to either party
October 9	German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher signs in Sofia a "treaty on friendly cooperation and partnership in Europe," in which Germany pledges to support Bulgaria's association and future membership in the EC; the treaty also contains articles on cooperation in the economy, ecology, science, education, culture, tourism, and legislation
October 13	General and local elections are held; the Union of Democratic Forces (UDF) wins 110 seats (34.36% of the votes), the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP) wins 106 seats (33.14%), and the Movement for Rights and Freedoms (MRF) 24 seats (7.55%)
October 16	The UDF announces its intention of forming a government with the parliamentary support of the MRF
October 17	MRF spokesman Yunal Lutfi announces that the MRF's program and goals are very close to those of the UDF and expresses the conviction that the two groups would form a parliamentary coalition
October 29	The US House of Representatives approves a trade agreement with Bulgaria negotiated in January, under the terms of which Bulgaria would be included in the US government's general system of preferences and would be able to export 4,000 types of goods without having to pay US import tax
November 1	An American university opens in Blagoevgrad; the university is sponsored by the Open Fund Society of American-Hungarian businessman George Soros and will have some 1000 Bulgarian and foreign students
November 8	The Ministry of Education issues a "recommendation" partly lifting the ban on teaching the Turkish language in Bulgarian schools; beginning on November 11, children who apply will be taught Turkish at municipal schools as an optional subject for two hours a week after school hours
November 11	It is announced that the US firm Westinghouse will build a plant to process radioactive waste from the Kozloduy nuclear power plant, to cost about $11 million and to be completed within 15 months
November 13	The National Assembly sets 12 January 1992 as the date for the elections of the President and Vice President; US President George Bush signs bill granting Bulgaria most-favored-nation status
November 22	The government decrees that pupils in grades three to eight in Bulgarian municipal schools are entitled to receive instruction four hours a week in their native language; A Bulgarian-American trade agreement signed in April comes into force and is expected to allow increases in exports to the US of wines, food, and ferrous, metallurgical and light industrial products
November 29	The UDF nominates Zhelyu Zhelev as its candidate in the upcoming presidential elections; Blaga Dimitrova, a popular poet and writer, is nominated as Zhelev's vice-presidential running mate
Dec 5-6	At its plenum, the BSP decides not to nominate a presidential candidate for the upcoming elections but to support an independent, unaffiliated candidate who would be able to unite the nation
December 11	The National Assembly passes a law providing for the restoration to former owners of shops, workshops, and warehouses that had been forcibly sold at extremely low prices under a 1975 decree
December 12	The National Assembly passes a law on confiscating the property of the Bulgarian Communist Party (the present Bulgarian Socialist Party), the Bulgarian Agrarian National Union, the Fatherland Front, former youth and "active fighters" organizations, and trade unions and their successors, i.e. property acquired illegally from the state after 9 September 1944
December 21	Two Muslim schools are opened, one in Ruse and one in the village of Glodzhevo in the Ruse region; pupils of these schools will be trained as imams or *khatibs* (readers of the Koran), with general subjects taught in Bulgarian and further

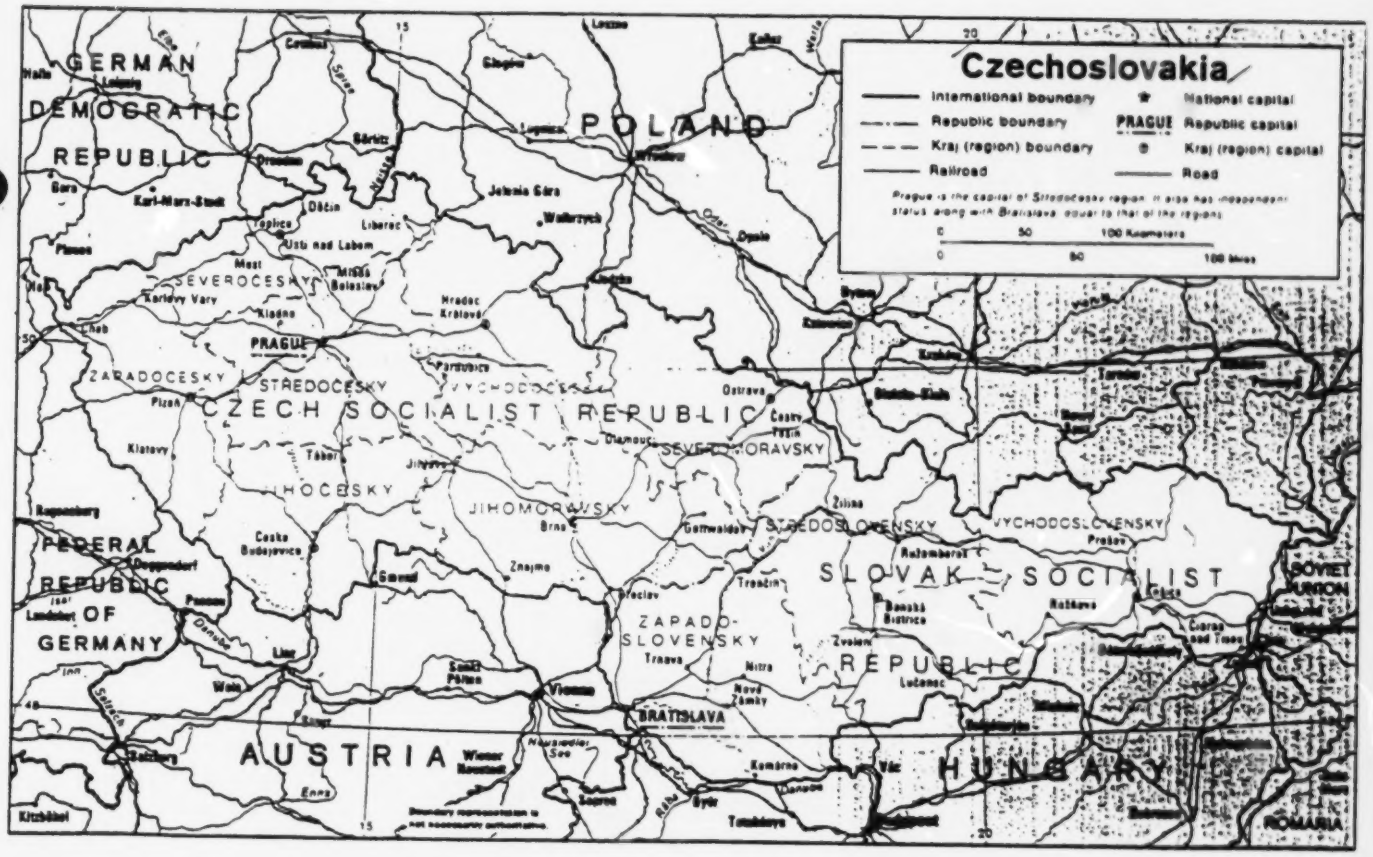
training in Turkish, Arabic, and English

1992	January 12	Presidential elections are held: the team of Zhelyu Zhelev and Blaga Dimitrova, backed by the UDF, receives 44.6% of the vote, Velko Valkanov and Rumen Vodenicharo, a nationalist team backed by the BSP, win 30.4% of the vote, and independents George Ganchev and Petar Beron receive 16.8% of the vote, forcing a runoff between Zhelev/Dimitrova and Valkanov/Vodenicharo
	January 13	The Supreme Court deregulates prices on important consumer goods January 16 Bulgaria recognizes the independence of four Yugoslav republics: Croatia, Slovenia, Bosnia and Hercegovina, and Macedonia. Bulgaria is the first state to recognize the Independence of Macedonia.
	January 19	Zhelyu Zhelev and Blaga Dimitrova are elected President and Vice President of Bulgaria by receiving 52.8% of the vote against their rivals' 47.1%
	January 20	The government decides that office space should be given to the BSP and its satellite organizations to replace the property they had to return under the law of 12 December 1991; also to be given is free office equipment, automobiles against payment of their insurance value, and various amounts of money
	January 22	The first of two 1000-megawatt nuclear reactors is switched on at the Kozloduy nuclear power plant
	January 23	National Assembly authorized the government to conduct negotiations to reschedule the national debt and seek new cedits
	January 25	Former Tsar of Bulgaria Simeon II proposes that Bulgaria become a constitutional monarchy and is quoted as saying that the majority of Bulgarians want this and that he is at the nation's disposal
	January 30	Prime Minister Filip Dimitrov announces the government will freeze prices on the most important consumer goods under government control. Since deregulation (January 13) prices increased dramatically.
	February	Bulgaria endures daily one hour power cutbacks due breakdowns at the Kozloduy nuclear power plant
	February 5	The National Assembly passed two laws on the redistribution of expropriated property to former owners or their heirs. The new laws cover housing and enterprises such as cinemas, printers and food warehouses.
	February 9	Presient Zhelev was quoted as rejecting the return of a monarchical form of government to Bulgaria.
	February 10	Chief Mufti Nedim Gendzhev admitted that he had worked for the communist Ministry of Internal Affairs; the government Directoare on Religious Beliefs therefore declared his 1988 appointment invalid.
	February 20	Sofia stock exchange opens
	February 21	A parliamentary representative reports that between 1984 and 1989 820,000 Bulgarian Turks were forced to assume Bulgarian names
	March 4	U.S. Deputy Under Secretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger called Bulgaria "one of the great but largely unsung success stories of Eastern Europe."
	March 20	An amended version of the 1991 Law on Farmland passed, providing for the return of collectivized land to its former owners.
	March 25	First currency exchange opened in Bulgaria
	April 1	Six day miners strike ends
	April 9	Confrontation between UDF and BSP sharpens when a BSP deputy assaulted a UDF deputy in parliament
	April 14	French ecologist Jacques Cousteau describes reactors at the Kozloduy nuclear power plant as the most dangerous in the world
	April 15	Government sets price control on 14 food items; price increases of 35% for electric power and 60% for coal announced
	April 20	IMF grants 212 million US credit to support economic reform
	April 23	National Assembly passes a liberal law on the privatization of state and municipal property
	May 7	Bulgaria is formally admitted to the Council of Europe
	May 8	The government decides not to close Kozloduy nuclear power plant but to improve safety there since it provides about 40% of the country's energy needs
	May 12	The European Community announces negotiations with Bulgaria on future

	association.
May 15	The mausoleum that held Georgi Dimitrov's body (Bulgaria's first communist leader) from 1949 to July 1990 was dismantled to the accompaniment of a rock concert with 40,000 participants
May 26	In an attempt to purge the Church's communists past, several registered a "renewed" Holy Synod of the Bulgarian Orthodox Church with the Directorate of Religions
June 5	Unemployment in Bulgaria is reported at 15% of the work force
June 25	Bulgaria signs the Black Sea Economic Cooperation Accord
July 9	Andrej Lukonov, former Prime Minister and top-ranking Socialist, was arrested and charged with misappropriation of state funds
July 14	In the face of threatened strikes the government gives 26% wage increases to all employees on state payrolls
July 19	Five-day Sofia transport strike ends with government conceding wage increases
July 28	Deputy Agriculture Minister states that 10% of rural land has been restored to lawful owners and that the figure is projected to reach 25% by the end of 1992
July 31	National Assembly adopts a law that allows the more than 300,000 Bulgarian Turks who were forced to leave the country in 1989 to reassume ownership of their property
August 13	The government announces its decision to phase the uranium mining industry
August 17	Bulgaria has its worst train accident in 50 years; 13 killed, 60 injured
August 31	The government announces that it will resume payment on its 12 billion US foreign debt starting in September
September 2	Military leaders deny rumors of preparations for a military coup
September 4	Todor Zhivkov is convicted of embezzlement
October 10	A one-week teachers strike ends with teachers gaining substantial pay increases
October 15	The government announces 30% price increases on electricity for private domestic consumers
October 26	The government announces the privatization of 92 companies, to begin at the end of the year
October 28	Prime Minister Filip Dimitrov's government fell on a motion of no confidence and resigned; while negotiations for a new government began, it was reappointed as a caretaker government
November 12	Germany agrees to help pay for the repatriation of some 25,000 migrants refused political asylum
November 20	Parliament rejected Prime Minister Dimitrov's proposal for a new government
December 30	A new government with Lyuben Berov Prime Minister is approved by National Assembly with the support of an ad hoc coalition of ranks-members of all three major parties, the UDF, BSP and MRF.

CZECH REPUBLIC

Area: 30,441 sq. miles
Population: 10.4 million
Capital: Prague
Language: Czech
Religion: Roman Catholicism
Unit of Currency: Koruna



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I. ALPHABET AND LANGUAGE

Czech is a West Slavic language similar to, but distinct from, Slovak. Like Slovak, it is written in the Latin alphabet and has a soft, musical intonation. Spelling is phonetic, with various diacriticals placed above the familiar Latin letters to indicate special sounds. The letters a,b,d,e,f,g,h,i,k,l,m,n,o,p,q,s,t,v and z are similar to their English counterparts. Among those which differ are c (ts as in nets), č (bench), ě (ye as in yes), ch (as in Scottish *loch*), j (y as in yes), ř (rolled as in Scottish), ř (as in Dvorzhak), š (push), u and ů (suit), y (kit) and ž (measure).

II. GEOGRAPHY

The Czech Republic is located in East-Central Europe. It borders Germany, Poland, the Slovak Republic and Austria. Its natural boundaries are the Sudeten Mountains in the north and west, and the Carpathian Mountains in the east. The country sits on a geological formation called the Bohemian Massif, and is rather higher and hillier than its neighbors on the other sides of its encircling mountain ranges. Historically, the Czech lands are made up of Bohemia in the west, and Moravia in the east. Prague, located on the Vltava River about midway between Berlin and Vienna, is the capital both of Bohemia and of the entire state; the capital of Moravia is Brno. Major cities include Prague (1,215,076), Brno (392,285) and Ostrava (331,557). Environmental damage due to industrialization during the communist period (1948-1989) has reached catastrophic proportions in some regions, particularly in Northern Bohemia, the industrial core of the old Czechoslovak state. Seventy percent of the region's rivers are polluted, 40 of wastewater goes untreated, and 50 percent of the forests are dying or severely damaged. Air pollution has occasionally reached levels at which the authorities have stopped road traffic and begun evacuating children and sick and elderly residents.

III. HISTORY

Early History. Available evidence suggests that Slavs settled the Bohemian Massif between the fourth and seventh centuries A.D. By the ninth century, parts of present-day Bohemia, Moravia, Slovakia, Poland, and Hungary comprised the Great Moravian empire. This empire, about which little is known, reached its height under Princes Mojmir and Rostislav, who fought a constant struggle against Germanic invasion. In 863, Rostislav accepted Christianity. He was later overthrown by his nephew Svätopluk (d. 894), whose reign was to witness the first incursions by the nomadic Hungarians. By 906, the Hungarians had destroyed the Moravian state and absorbed the Slovak lands. Slovakia would remain a part of Hungary until the twentieth century.

In the Czech lands, however, a new native dynasty soon arose, the Přemyslides (10th to 12th century). Under their earliest known prince and probable founder, Václav, the Přemyslides united the Slavic tribes of Bohemia and Moravia in opposition to both the Hungarians and the Germans. Václav, known in English folk tradition as Good King Wenceslas, was murdered by his brother for coming to terms with the Germans and was later canonized (he is considered the patron saint of the Czechs and the square named for him in Prague was the focal point of anti-communist demonstrations in both 1968 and 1989). The Přemyslide state reached its height under Přemysl Otakar I (1197-1230) and Přemysl Otakar II (1253-1278). The latter's dominions, at his death, stretched from Prussia to the Adriatic.

In the early 1400s, the Czech cleric Jan Hus began to preach against corruption in the Catholic Church. Although he was burned at the stake for heresy in 1415, his followers, called Hussites, fought an armed struggle for religious and political liberty well into the 1430s. In 1526, the Bohemian crown fell to the Catholic Habsburgs of Austria. After a century of political warfare and intermittent armed rebellion, the Czech nobility was finally defeated by Habsburg forces at the Battle of White Mountain in 1620. They remained under Habsburg rule until the empire dissolved after World War I.

The Czech National Revival. Czech was a highly developed literary language as early as the 1300s. After the defeat of the Czech nobility at White Mountain, however, it was replaced by German and became, like Slovak, primarily a peasant tongue. Literary Czech was revived beginning in the 1780s by educated Czechs from the villages of Bohemia and Moravia who were influenced by a general awakening of national consciousness among the peoples of the Habsburg empire. Writers such as Dobrovský and Palacký collected folktales and wrote histories emphasizing the greatness of the medieval Přemyslide empire. In the 1800s, Jan Kollár, a Slovak who wrote in Czech, founded the Pan-Slav movement, which advanced the idea that the Slavs were one people and sought to unite them politically. During the revolutions of 1848-49, Czech delegates were joined by representatives of the Habsburg empire's other Slavic peoples at the Pan-Slav Congress in Prague, where appeals were made to the Emperor to give Slavic languages the same rights as German and Hungarian. No such concessions were forthcoming, however, and Vienna restored order by force. In 1867, a political crisis forced the Habsburgs to transform their unitary monarchy into a dual one, the Austro-Hungarian empire. The Czechs' desire to be educated in their own language and to use it in public life now came into conflict with the Germans' determination to make the Austrian half of the empire a German state, just as the Hungarians were "Magyarizing" (from the Hungarian self-designation *magyar*) the Hungarian half. By the late 1800s, the language question had caused a political stalemate which was only resolved by the breakup of the empire into national states.

The Czechoslovak Republic. The end of World War I and the collapse of the Habsburg empire led to the creation of the Czechoslovak Republic. At a conference in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, Czech and Slovak émigrés signed a pact to create a federal state that would unite both nations. On October 28, 1918, independence was declared from the Habsburg empire. In addition to the Czech lands and Slovakia, the new republic included Ukrainian Carpatho-Ruthenia. Like the other new states in East-Central Europe, government was by means of a parliamentary system modelled on that of Great Britain. In Czechoslovakia between the World Wars, however, no one party ever won a majority. A multi-party coalition governed throughout the period. The philosopher and university professor Tomaš G. Masaryk became the first president of the republic. He retired in 1935 and was succeeded by Edvard Beneš.

The Czechoslovak experiment was only partly successful. On the one hand, Czechoslovakia was the only state in East-Central Europe which did not become a dictatorship during the interwar period. On the other hand, the old dream of welding of Czechs and Slovaks into a single nation proved impossible to achieve. After a thousand years as a Hungarian backwater, Slovakia was economically and culturally behind the Czech lands. Slovaks resented the Czech officials who were sent out from Prague to replace the expelled Hungarians, and Czechs regarded the Slovaks as stubborn and backward. The highly industrialized Czech lands suffered economically from the worldwide depression of the 1930s, and from the economic

burden of administering less developed Slovakia and Ruthenia.

Perhaps the most important issue in interwar Czechoslovakia was that of the minorities: 3.3 million Germans and 700,000 Hungarians who lived in areas contiguous to their homelands. The Germans, whose ancestors settled in Bohemia and Moravia during the centuries when these lands were ruled by the German Habsburgs, resented what they saw as their second-class status in the new state. Hitler exploited their dissatisfaction, winning great popularity at home and among Czechoslovakia's Germans by posing as their protector.

World War II. The Munich Agreement of September 29, 1938 abandoned Czechoslovakia to Nazi Germany. The western, heavily German Sudetenland was incorporated into the Reich. In November, Hitler gave parts of southern Slovakia to Hungary. On March 14, 1939, under pressure from Germany, Slovakia declared itself independent. The following day, Germany occupied the Czech lands. Hungary later took over Ruthenia and the eastern section of Slovakia. President Beneš formed a government-in-exile in London.

The population of the Reich Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia, as the Germans called the occupied rump of the Czech lands, was treated relatively well because of the vital war industries located there. Nevertheless, the Nazis tolerated no opposition, and "inconvenient persons" quickly found themselves in concentration camps. Thousands of Czechs were drafted for forced labor in the Reich or behind the front. In 1941, Czech commandos operating from Great Britain assassinated Reinhard Heydrich, Hitler's deputy in the Czech lands. In retaliation, the Nazis liquidated the village of Lidice, killing the men and boys, sending the women and children to concentration camps, then burning and bulldozing the village.

Soviet troops entered Czechoslovak territory in October 1944. US forces also advanced into Western Bohemia, but were stopped short of Prague by the Yalta agreement. A provisional Czechoslovak government was set up in the Slovakian town of Košice on April 3, 1945; local forces and Soviet troops liberated Prague in May.

After the liberation of Czechoslovakia in 1945, the country was again led by President Beneš, who attempted to cooperate with both the USSR and the west. A new cabinet was formed which included members of the Communist party. The communists actually won the first post-war general election, but public opinion turned against them after the USSR forced Czechoslovakia to refuse Marshall Plan aid from the US. Meanwhile, the communists were purging the police of uncooperative officials, and when the non-communist members of the cabinet resigned in protest over these purges in February 1948 the communists seized control of the state.

1948 Communist Coup. After the communist *coup d'etat* of February 1948, the structure of Czechoslovakia was remodeled along Soviet lines. The Communist party retained a monopoly of political power; President Beneš resigned in June. Slovak autonomy, although guaranteed in the constitution, was severely limited, and Slovak leaders were purged from the party. Czechoslovakia during this period exemplified rigid Stalinism. Immediately after the takeover, laws were passed to abolish the last remnants of liberal democracy by reorganizing the organs of local government, revamping the judicial system and establishing a totalitarian state whose goal was the complete socialization of the economy. The national assembly held only brief sessions for the purpose of unanimously approving the government's decisions.

The cabinet was dominated by Politburo members, and party committees were established to supervise the bureaucracy at all levels. The revised 1960 constitution echoed the contemporary Soviet constitution in making Marxism-Leninism the official state ideology and reserving the leading role in society for the Communist party. Approximately 80,000 Czechs and Slovaks emigrated because of the Communist takeover. Another 100,000 were sent to Soviet labor camps between 1944 and 1949.

The Spring Thaw. Beginning in the early 1960s, a decline in economic growth coupled with the relaxation of Stalinism and a reassertion of Slovak nationalism led to a severe political crisis. In January 1968, President Antonin Novotny was replaced by Alexander Dubček. Dubček attempted to institute what he called "socialism with a human face," that is, a combination of socialist economic security with democratic civil liberties. The Action Program of 1968 abolished censorship and reviewed the rehabilitation law, making it more liberal. Plans were laid to make the Slovak party and government more independent of Prague. To communist leaders both within Czechoslovakia and in the Warsaw Pact it seemed as if the Czechoslovak party was losing control of the country. On August 21, 1968, the Soviet Union (along with other Warsaw Pact countries) invaded Czechoslovakia, justifying this action by issuing the *Brezhnev Doctrine*, by which the Soviet Union reserved the right to intervene in the internal affairs of another socialist country if it believed socialism was in danger there. The liberalizations of the "Prague Spring" were reversed, and Dubček was eventually forced to resign. Gustav Husák, a hard-line Communist, replaced him.

Brezhnev Freeze. From 1968 to 1989, relations between the party and people of Czechoslovakia were largely determined by an informal, unspoken "deal," according to the terms of which the people refrained from opposition political activity and were rewarded with a reasonably high (by Soviet bloc norms) standard of living. The government continued to persecute dissidents such as playwright Václav Havel, and showed little tolerance for opposition groups and publications. Charter 77, the most important of these reformist organizations, was formed in 1977 by a group of Czech and Slovak intellectuals who signed a petition in which they aired their grievances against the Husák regime. Many of the signers were subsequently arrested or professionally demoted but they continued to meet through the 1980's. Most later played leading roles in the upheavals leading to the collapse of the communist regime in 1989.

The 1970s and 80s represented a return to the Soviet model of economic and political development. Although there was some talk of reorienting the economy towards consumer goods and decentralizing the administration, Czechoslovakia continued on its post-1968 course well into the Gorbachev era of liberalization and economic decentralization. Miloš Jakeš, who took over the Communist party in December of 1987, removed reform-minded rivals and tried to enforce unanimity in a politburo sorely divided over the issue of reform. By the late 1980s the economy was in obvious trouble, and attempts at economic reform without political reform had clearly failed.

The Velvet Revolution of 1989 to Present. Even after Gorbachev's visit to Czechoslovakia in April 1987 brought cheering crowds into the streets, the Czechoslovak communist leadership maintained its hard-line opposition to political reform. By Fall 1989, however, non-communist governments had taken power in both Poland and Hungary, and Czechoslovakia had become a transit zone for East Germans trying to escape to West

Germany. In November, a student ceremony to commemorate a youth killed by the Nazi occupiers turned into a pro-democracy demonstration which ended with unarmed students being beaten by riot police. In the Czech lands, opposition groups coalesced into an umbrella organization called Civic Forum. Civic Forum, and its Slovak counterpart Public Against Violence, joined students and actors in orchestrating a series of strikes which crippled the country and led to the resignation of the communist leadership. The first non-communist cabinet since 1948 was sworn in on December 10. Dubček, brought out of retirement to a hero's welcome in Prague, was elected chairman of the parliament on December 28, and on the following day Civic Forum leader Havel was sworn in as president.

But the end of the Velvet Revolution (so called in the Czech lands for its exceptional lack of violence; Slovaks prefer the name "Gentle Revolution") was also the end of the common Communist enemy, opposition to which had united Czechs and Slovaks to an unprecedented degree. On April 20, 1990, parliament changed the country's name to "The Czech and Slovak Federal Republic" at the insistence of Slovak leaders, who feared a return to the political centralization of the communist period. Throughout 1990 and 1991 there were demonstrations in favor of independence in Slovak cities, although public opinion polls continued to show that most Czechs and Slovaks favored a federal system. Of particular concern to Slovaks were federal and Czech leaders' plans for rapid economic reforms, which many feared would be more painful for Slovakia. The general elections of June 1992 were regarded by most people in both republics as a referendum on the federal union, and after separatist parties won significant victories in both republics, talks began on the breakup of the country. In what has come to be regarded as typical Czechoslovak style, the split was negotiated and carried out bloodlessly. At midnight on December 31, 1992, the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic ceased to exist and the Czech Republic was born.

At this writing, the Czech Republic is still led by Václav Klaus's Civic Democratic Party, which leads a coalition government formed after the Czechoslovak general elections of June 1992. Like Slovakia, the Czech Republic is still grappling with its communist past: with environmental devastation, with a faltering economy, and with accusations of collaboration with the communist secret police which continue to be leveled periodically at various high-ranking government officials. High unemployment and other social stresses associated with the transformation of the country have led to a rise in right-wing violence against Jews, Romanies (Gypsies), and foreigners. As a natural result of their long association and remarkably amicable divorce, the Czech and Slovak Republics maintain close relations. The two states are united in a customs union, and both have adopted citizenship laws which make obtaining citizenship easier for a citizen of the other state than for other foreigners. It remains to be seen what part the large Slovak minority will play in Czech-Slovak affairs. Relations with Germany are good, in spite of the anger some Germans still harbor toward the Czechs for expelling the Sudeten Germans after World War II.

IV. ECONOMY

Bohemia and Moravia have been among the most important commercial and industrial areas of Europe since the late Middle Ages. They were the industrial heartland of the Habsburg empire and later of Czechoslovakia. Thanks to the Czech Lands' industrial character, the

worldwide depression of the 1930s did not strike Czechoslovakia with the same force as it did other, overwhelmingly agricultural, East-Central European states like Poland and Hungary.

From 1945 to 1989, economic development in Czechoslovakia went through five distinct periods. The 1945-46 period witnessed a wave of nationalization, and preparations for the introduction of a planned economy, though industrial employment in the state sector was only 57.7 percent of the total, and private industry still predominated in consumer goods and in domestic and foreign trade. The 1947-48 period was one of reconstruction and a second wave of nationalization, which brought 96.4 percent of industrial production into state hands, increased investment to 1/2 of national income, and shifted the industrial emphasis to heavy industry. The third period was that of the first five-year plan, 1949-53. Industrial output was increased 57 percent in order to establish heavy industry as the basis of the socialist economy. Sharp imbalances emerged, however, as a result of the stress put on heavy industries and collectivization in agriculture, and of declines in industrial output. The so-called "new course," introduced during the fourth period (1954-55), raised the priority given to light industry and agriculture and placed limits on the state's pursuit of autarky. The fifth period, from 1956 to the 1980s, saw the reestablishment of heavy industry's preeminence. Arms production, a major industry in communist Czechoslovakia, has become a problem for the new governments, who must balance moral considerations with the imperative of providing jobs.

Czechoslovakia began working to establish a market economy in late 1989. Loans from the International Monetary Fund and new laws on privatization during 1990-1992 aided the transition, but both states still suffer from inflation, fuel and food shortages, and unemployment. The Czech Republic negotiated a new agreement with the IMF shortly after the breakup of Czechoslovakia.

Among the Czech Republic's most important industrial products are machines, machine tools, chemicals, textiles, and glassware. A number of specialized farming regions produce crops for the food processing industry. The most important of these is hops, which are grown both for export and for the country's world-famous breweries.

VI. RELIGION

While the majority of Czechs are nominally Roman Catholics, Protestantism has a long and vibrant history in Bohemia and Moravia, beginning with the Hussite reformers of the early 1300s. Northern Moravia is perhaps the center of Czech Protestant life today. Agnosticism is widespread, particularly in Bohemia. Church officials who opposed the communist regime were persecuted during the 1950s and early 1960s. In recent years, Czech and Slovak youth showed increased interest in religion, probably because religious activity was one way of expressing hostility toward the government. After the Velvet Revolution churches were freed of state control. Pope John Paul II visited the country, and diplomatic relations were restored between the Vatican and Czechoslovakia. No legal basis has been established for the Vatican's relations with the Czech Republic, but it can be said with certainty that the Catholic Church will not wield the influence there that it likely will in the Slovak lands.

VII. CHRONOLOGY

AD 300-600		Slavs settle in Bohemia and Moravia
9th Century		Height of Great Moravian empire
863		Rostislav of Moravia accepts Christianity
903-906		Moravian empire collapses under Hungarian and German attacks; Slovakia absorbed by Hungary
10th Century		Prince Václav unites Slavs of Bohemia and Moravia
1253-78		Czech kingdom reaches height under Přemysl Otakar II
1415		Church reformer Jan Hus tried and burned at the stake
1419		Hussites murder Imperial representatives in Prague
1415-34		War between Hussites and Roman Catholic Germans
1526		Habsburgs inherit Czech crown
1618		Czech nobles rebel against Habsburgs
1620		Czechs are defeated at Battle of White Mountain
1780s		Czech literary revival begins
1867		Habsburg empire becomes Austro-Hungarian dual monarchy
1918		Czechoslovak Republic formed
1918-38		Czechoslovakia survives politically and economically in spite of Czech-Slovak conflict, pressure from Hungary and Germany over ethnic minorities, and worldwide depression
1938		Munich Pact forces surrender of Sudetenland to Germany and First Vienna Award gives part of southern Slovakia to Hungary
1939	March	Czech lands occupied by Germany, Slovakia becomes an independent state; Eastern Slovakia and Ruthenia occupied by Hungary
1945	April 3	Provisional Czechoslovak government set up at Košice
	May 5	Prague liberated
	December	US and Soviet troops evacuate newly liberated Czechoslovakia
1946	May	Communist party wins 36 percent of vote in election; becomes largest party in new Czechoslovak parliament
1947	July	Czechoslovak government accepts Marshall Plan; declines two days later under Soviet pressure
1948	February	Non-communist ministers resign, Klement Gottwald forms communist-dominated cabinet
	March	Nationalization of industry begins
	May	Communist-dominated National Front wins election; Beneš resigns

1949	October	Widespread arrests signal beginning of purge of "bourgeois elements"
1953	March	Gottwald dies
	September	Stalinists purged by Novotny for political mistakes
1965	November	13th Party Congress admits serious errors in economic management
1967	June	Writers' congress criticizes regime
	December	Novotny dismissed by Presidium
1968	January	Alexander Dubček replaces Novotny as head of party; beginning of "Prague Spring"; Warsaw Pact allies express concern over proposed reforms
	April	Action Program details political and economic reforms
	June	"Two Thousand Words" statement made by leading intellectuals
	August	Warsaw Pact invasion; Dubček reinstated after USSR fails to form a government
	September	Brezhnev Doctrine asserts Soviet Union's obligation to "defend socialism"
	October	USSR-Czech agreement on stationing of troops
1969	January	2000 students protest, issue "Prague Manifesto" condemning Warsaw Pact intervention; Self-immolation of Prague student Jan Palach as protest against invasion
	March	Husák replaces Dubček; violent demonstrations result
	May	Regime bans pro-reform weeklies
	August	Three days of unrest mark anniversary of 1968 Warsaw Pact invasion
1970	June	Dubček expelled from Czechoslovak Communist Party
	December	Centralization measures reduce authority of Czech and Slovak regional governments
1972	July	Trials of 46 Dubček supporters for subversive activity
1973	February	Amnesty declared for those who fled in 1968
1974	July	Security forces authorized to disregard suspects' civil rights
	August	Works of 300 dissident writers banned from libraries
1977	January	"Charter 77" on non-observance of human rights published and signed by 240 Czechoslovak intellectuals
1979	October	Charter 77 dissidents imprisoned
1986	May	17th Czech Party Congress resists Gorbachev's prompting on reforms
	September	"Jazz Section" group arrested as part of a general crackdown on intellectuals
1987	January	State-owned companies given greater autonomy
	February	Regime criticizes Gorbachev's reforms
	April	Crowds cheer as Gorbachev visits Czechoslovakia
	May	Jazz Section members sentenced
	December	Miloš Jakeš replaces Husák
1989	January	Thousands peacefully protest on 20th anniversary of Jan Palach's death; police use water cannons, tear gas and dogs; playwright Václav Havel among eight activists arrested for attempting to lay flowers at spot where Palach committed suicide
	February	Havel nominated for Nobel Peace Prize by US Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe; Havel sentenced to 9 months in prison
	May	Havel released from prison after serving half of term; despite Czechoslovak government objections, an interview with Alexander Dubček is shown on Hungarian television

	July	Over 200,000 Catholics participate in an annual pilgrimage to Levoča in Eastern Slovakia
	August	Václav Havel arrested and held for eleven hours; homes of four Slovak human rights activists are searched, two activists are detained; between 2000 and 10,000 people demonstrate in Prague on the anniversary of the Warsaw Pact invasion. 370 people are arrested after police break up the march
	September	East Germans begin taking refuge in West German embassy in Prague
	October	Havel detained by police, taken to hospital with a serious respiratory problem, later released
	November 12	Jakeš tells Communist youth conference that party will not tolerate street protests or relax control of the country
	November 17	Authorized rally in Prague to commemorate 50th anniversary of death of student Jan Opletal, killed by the Nazis, turns into pro-democracy demonstration by 50,000 people and largest anti-government rally since 1968. Protest is broken up by police with (officially) 17 people injured and 143 arrested
	November 18	Students and actors call for one-week boycott of theater performances and university classes plus two-hour general strike on November 27 to protest police brutality on Nov. 17
	November 19	200,000 people demonstrate demanding resignation of Jakeš and protesting death of student Martin Smid in Nov. 17th demonstration; opposition groups coalesce into Civic Forum (Czech lands) and Public Against Violence (Slovakia), demand resignation of Communist leaders
	November 24	Jakeš resigns and is replaced by Karl Urbanek; Alexander Dubček returns to Prague and addresses the crowds
	November 27	Millions of Czechs and Slovaks walk off their jobs and into the street at noon, bringing the country to a standstill
	November 29	Parliament promises to strip the constitution of language giving the Communist party a dominant role in society
	December 1	New Communist party politburo states that 1968 Soviet-led invasion was wrong; Gorbachev acknowledges that Czechoslovak liberalization movement in 1968 was result of yearning for democracy
	December 3	New cabinet including non-Communists is rejected by the opposition
	December 7	Prime Minister Ladislav Adamec resigns and is replaced by his deputy Marian Calfa
	December 10	President Husák resigns after swearing in first non-communist cabinet in 41 years
	December 28	Dubček is elected chairman of the Czechoslovak parliament
	December 29	Havel is elected president by parliament
1990	January 1	Havel declares general amnesty for about 20,000 political prisoners
	January 16	Ceremony commemorating death of Jan Palach is held; first round of talks on Soviet troop pull-out end
	February 1	Secret police abolished
	February 17	Former president Gustav Husák, former prime minister Lubomir Strougal, and 20 other former party leaders are expelled from Czechoslovak Communist Party
	February 26	Havel meets with Gorbachev in Moscow; troop withdrawal agreement signed which calls for Soviet withdrawal from Czechoslovakia by June 1991
	March 14	Compulsory military service is dropped from 24 to 18 months, and alternative service will be provided
	March 29	After weeks of debate, Federal Assembly changes name of country from Czechoslovak Socialist Republic to Czechoslovak Federal Republic
	April 7	Seventeen political parties register to compete in elections for the Federal Assembly
	April 20	Country changes its name again to Czech and Slovak Federal Republic"
	April 22	Pope John Paul II visits Bratislava, Prague, and Velehrad
	June 8	Parliamentary elections; Czech Civic Forum and Slovak Public Against Violence win
	June 27	Federal Assembly opens; Dubček is re-elected chairman; new federal, Czech and Slovak governments are sworn in
	July 3	Prime Minister Marian Calfa outlines economic reform plan that will replace centrally planned economy with free market over two years

	July 5	Václav Havel is re-elected president for two years
	July	Consumer prices of some foodstuffs increase by 25 percent; Gasoline prices rise by 50 percent because of decreased petroleum imports from the Soviet Union
	August 1	Radio Free Europe begins broadcasts from Prague
	August 26	Thousands of Slovaks rally in Ružomberok in honor of Msgr. Hlinka, founder of Slovak People's Party and advocate of Slovak autonomy until his death in 1939
	September 16	British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher visits, apologizes for Munich agreement of 1938
	September 19	Czechoslovakia's membership is restored after thirty-seven years in the International Monetary Fund (IMF)
	October 25	Slovak parliament passes law making Slovak the official language; federal assembly passes a law on the privatization of state-run shops and small businesses
	November 16	The federal assembly nationalizes Communist party assets, estimated at $368 million
	December 11	Public opinion poll in Slovakia shows 53 percent favor federal system, 26 percent a confederation, and 5 percent an independent state
	December 20	Budget is approved for 1991 that may cause 5-7 percent rise in unemployment and 30 percent inflation; GNP expected to drop by 5 percent
1991	January 1	In his New Year's message, Havel says "we are finding out that what looked like a neglected house a year ago is, in fact, a ruin."
	January 3	Prices increase 20-100 percent across the board
	January 7	IMF approves 4-year, $1.78 billion credit package to aid transition to market economy
	January 9	A new Bill of Rights and Liberties is passed
	February 21	Czechoslovakia joins the Council of Europe
	February 23	Civic Forum votes to split into two factions
	March 13	Volkswagen signs a joint-venture agreement with the Bratislava automobile plant BAZ (largest privatization deal in the former socialist bloc so far)
	March 22	10 parliamentary deputies named as secret police collaborators
	June 21	Last Soviet troops leave Czechoslovakia
	June 28	COMECON disbands
	July 1	Warsaw Pact disbands at Prague summit
	September 8	Pro-Communist groups banned
	October 13	US returns draft of Czechoslovak 1918 independence declaration from Library of Congress
	October 22	Havel and Bush sign joint declaration of US-Czechoslovak relations; Bush rejects Czechoslovak associate membership in NATO
	October 28	On National Day, Havel jeered by egg-throwing Slovak separatists in Bratislava
	November 6	Federal government decides to postpone privatization of country's largest enterprises
	November 12	Czech and Slovak leaders fail to agree at constitutional talks
	November 24	"Light bulb referendum" reveals majority of Czechs and Slovaks favor union
	December 11	Parliament passes law outlawing the spreading of communism or fascism
	December 16	Czechoslovakia becomes associate member of EC
1992	February 9	Czech and Slovak leaders complete treaty on federation
	February 12	Slovak parliament rejects federation; says too many concessions to Czechs
	February 13	Eighteen former communist leaders charged with treason in connection with 1968 Warsaw Pact invasion
	February 18	Proposed Czechoslovak-Russian friendship treaty calls 1968 Soviet invasion "act of violence"
	February 27	Czechoslovak-German friendship treaty signed in Prague
	March 4	Federal Assembly passes law giving citizens access to their secret police files
	March 7	Congress of Slovak political parties calls for Slovak independence
	March 11	Demonstrations in Prague against Czechoslovak-German friendship treaty; and in Bratislava in favor of Slovak independence
	May 20	German parliament ratifies friendship treaty with Czechoslovakia; many Germans object to treaty because of unresolved issue of compensation for Sudeten Germans

		expelled from Czechoslovakia after World War II
	June 2	The weekly *Reflex* publishes a list of 130 former secret police officers
	June 5-6	General election. Major winners are Václav Klaus's Civic Democratic Party (in the Czech Republic) and Vladimir Meciar's Movement for a Democratic Slovakia
	June 9	Hungarian parliament repudiates 1977 treaty on Gabčikovo-Nagymaros dam project
	June 18	Miklos Duray, chairman of ethnic Hungarian Coexistence movement says Hungarians will press for autonomy if Slovakia becomes independent
	June 23	Leader says Slovaks in Hungary want independent Slovakia
	June 24	Slovak parliament names new cabinet dominated by Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar's Movement for a Democratic Slovakia
	July 1	Havel approves a new, caretaker federal government New Czech coalition government forms led by Václav Klaus of Civic Democratic Party
	July 3	Havel fails to be reelected president
	July 15	Slovak National Council declares Slovakia's sovereignty
	July 20	Havel resigns as president of Czechoslovakia
	July 22-23	Czech and Slovak Prime Ministers agree to submit to Federal Assembly a proposal that the federation be split up
	August 21	Hungary says it is willing to provide Czechoslovak government with information about high-ranking Hungarian officials involved in the 1968 invasion of Czechoslovakia
	August 26	Czech and Slovak Prime Ministers set date for federation's split at January 1, 1993
	October 8	Federal Assembly passes constitutional amendments transferring many federal powers to the republics
	October 22	EC-brokered Czechoslovak-Hungarian talks on Gabčikovo break down
	October 24	Czechoslovakia begins diverting Danube to Gabčikovo power plant
	October 26	Czech and Slovak leaders agree on future customs union and common currency
	October 28	Czechoslovakia and Hungary agree to submit Gabčikovo dispute to arbitration; Czechoslovakia pledges to stop diverting Danube as of October 31
	October 29	Czech and Slovak Prime Ministers sign agreements defining future relations between soon-to-be independent republics
	November 3	Charter 77 formally ceases activities
	November 6	EC Commission asks Czechoslovakia to stop work on Gabčikovo project on November 21 pending completion of EC-sponsored study; Czechoslovak government agrees to comply
	November 7	Dubček dies as a result of injuries sustained in a car crash
	November 13	Federal Assembly passes law on division of federation property
	November 25	Federal Assembly approves legislation providing legal basis for federation's split
	December 2	Federal Assembly votes to dissolve Czechoslovak Television, Radio, Press Agency and Academy of Sciences
	December 9	Czech government sets rules for acquisition of Czech citizenship; Slovaks must show 2 years' residency instead of 5 for other foreigners
	December 11	Hundreds of Slovaks applying for Czech citizenship every day
	December 15	Czech Republic admitted to Council on Security and Cooperation in Europe
	December 16	Czech parliament adopts constitution to go into effect January 1, 1993
	December 17	Czech parliament adopts Czechoslovak flag as Czech Republic flag; Slovaks protest
	December 21	"Visegrad Triangle" pact signed by Czechoslovakia, Poland and Hungary; all trade barriers to fall by 2001 (grouping to become "Visegrad Quadrangle" after split
	December 26	Applications by Slovaks for Czech citizenship up to 3,000 per day (about 30,000 since early December); Slovaks will be largest ethnic minority in Czech Republic
	December 31	At midnight Central European Time, Czechoslovakia ceases to exist
1993	January 11	Prime Minister Klaus says Visegrad Triangle artificial, expression of west's desires not those of Czechs, Slovaks, Poles or Hungarians
	January 18	First meeting of Czech-Slovak Customs Union Council. Republics empower council to coordinate trade and customs policies, and to represent both states in talks with third parties

January 19	Czech Republic admitted to UN as 179th member
January 26	Havel inaugurated as president of Czech Republic
February 3	Romany (Gypsy) leaders call for prosecution of racist groups for attacks on Romanies
February 8	Czech Republic and Slovakia begin using separate currencies
February 12	Prosecutor General creates center for investigation of communist crimes
February 13	Emergency declared in several North Bohemian towns after air pollution levels reach 15 times the already inadequate Czech safety norm
February 16	IMF representative in Prague says agreement reached with Czech government on all key issues
February 17	Town of Chomutov, in heavily polluted Northern Bohemia, threatens general strike if environmental situation not addressed

ESTONIA

Area: 17,413 sq. mi (45,100 sq.km)
Population: 1.6 million
Capital: Tallinn
Language: Estonian
Religion: Lutheran
Unit of currency: kroon
Declared restoration of independence August 20, 1991
Independence recognized by USSR September 5, 1991

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I. ALPHABET AND LANGUAGE

Estonian is the official language of Estonia, and Standard Estonian is based on the Northern Estonian dialect. Belonging to the Balto-Finnic subgroup of the Uralic, or Finno-Ugric language group, Estonian in closely related to Finnish, and distantly related to Hungarian and a number of languages in western Siberia. The new orthography, modelled on Finnish in the 1870s and reformed in the 1920s and 1930s, consists of 14 declensions and uses the latin alphabet.

II. GEOGRAPHY

Situated on the eastern shores of the Baltic Sea, Estonia is bordered on the north by the Gulf of Finland, the south by Latvia, and the east by Lake Peipsi and Russia (with whom it shares a 294 km border). During Estonia's period of independence before World War II, it claimed a territory of 47,594 km^2; now Estonia has an area of 45,215 km^2, making it slightly larger than Switzerland, Denmark, and the Netherlands. Estonia also has more than 1500 islands and 1400 lakes.

III. HISTORY

The first inhabitants of present-day Estonia appeared in the middle of the eighth millennium B.C., and the first ancestors of the Estonians, one of the original Balto-Finnic tribes, arrived by the third millennium BC. The first influences of Christianity came from the Orthodox Russians in the eleventh and twelfth centuries A.D. At the end of the twelfth century, the Germans arrived, bringing Catholicism; and in the early thirteenth century Estonia was conquered by the Danes, who founded Tallinn, and the Germans. In 1346 the Danes sold Estonia to the Teutonic Knights, and Tallinn and Narva became leading cities in the powerful Hanseatic League. Serfdom was gradually instituted. The Reformation arrived in Estonia in 1523, and the country was converted to Lutheranism, although the people in the countryside remained Catholic for a longer time than did those in the towns and cities.

Following the Livonian wars, Estonia eventually fell to Sweden. As part of the tolerant Swedish empire, Estonia experienced a hundred-year "Golden Age." During this period Tartu University was founded in 1632. Estonia came under Russian rule according to the terms of the Nystad Peace Treaty at the conclusion of the Great Northern War in 1721.

In 1739, the first Bible written in Estonian was published, signalling the beginning of an Estonian literary tradition. The reforms of 1816 and 1819 freed the serfs and established Estonian schools. In the second half of the nineteenth century, Estonia, like Finland, experienced a "national awakening." This was inspired in part by the publication of Kalevipoeg, the national epic based on Estonian folklore and versified by the folklorist Friedrich Kreutzwald. In addition, national consciousness among the Estonians expanded with

the development of the Estonian Song Festivals, beginning in 1869.

The Estonian cultural revival culminated in independence, and the establishment of the Republic of Estonia was achieved in 1918 upon the dissolution of the Russian empire. Estonia was the first nation to recognize Soviet Russia, gaining in turn Soviet recognition of Estonia's sovereignty. Although a liberal, constitutional, and democratic state was formed, the interwar period was a difficult time for Estonia. Political fragmentation coupled with a constitutional crisis contributed to the rise of an authoritarian regime in the 1930s.

Great Power politics determined the fate of the Estonian state in the early years of World War II. In August 1939 the Foreign Minister of the USSR Molotov met with German Foreign Minister Ribbentrop to sign a Non-Aggression Pact between Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union. Along with this treaty were included secret protocols outlining the future division of Poland and the Baltic States. In 1940 the Baltic states of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania were forcibly annexed to the USSR. Only in 1989-90 did the Soviets admit and publish the texts of these secret protocols. The United States never officially recognized the Soviet annexation of the three Baltic states.

Recent Reforms

Following Gorbachev's accession to power in 1985, progressives and reformists in Estonia led the republic into the vanguard of *perestroika* and *glasnost*. Euphoric and dramatic marches and declarations dominated 1987-1988, and in 1989 reformists made a concerted effort to address the serious questions of political reform. The Estonian Supreme Soviet became a positive force for change within the republic. In 1989 the Supreme Soviet passed a law making Estonian the official language of the republic, authorized public use of the Estonian national flag, and set restrictive residency requirements for voting. However, following a series of strikes called for by "Interdvizhenie", a movement ostensibly representing the Russian-speaking population of Estonia but which later came to be seen as a conservative and Stalinist organization, the USSR Ministry of Justice proclaimed the voting law unconstitutional and demanded that it be repealed. In the face of extremely harsh criticism from Moscow, the Estonian Supreme Soviet capitulated and two months later suspended the new residency requirements. In a dramatic move, the Estonian Supreme Soviet declared null and void the 1940 forced annexation of Estonia to the USSR.

The Estonian Popular Front became the most powerful political organization in the republic. Its platform, published in October 1989, describes Estonia as an occupied country and demands democratic elections, a referendum on the question of independence, and the demilitarization of the republic. Citizens' Committees have become vocal, reminding people of Estonia's achievements as an independent country during the interwar period. Various publications of the Estonian press have reflected the remarkable changes taking place within Estonian society. A number of new titles have emerged in the free press, often financed through joint ventures with Finland or the Scandinavian countries.

The fragmentation of the Estonian Communist Party continued, and the republic's Supreme

Council abolished the leading role of the Party. The Party organization of the Estonian Writers Union ceased its activities, and the Estonian Komsomol voted to disband because of its declining influence and popularity. In April 1990 in response to Lithuania's declaration of independence, the Supreme Soviet declared its independence from the USSR, following a period of transition. In March 1991 Estonia held a republic-wide referendum on independence. The voter turnout was 83%, and 78% voted for independence. The Gorbachev administration called for an All-Union referendum on the question of maintaining the union as a federation, but the government of Estonia refused to participate. Ballots were cast unofficially, but only 250,000 voters participated.

Estonia and the two other Baltic republics increasingly cooperated in an effort to gain international recognition for their struggle for independence. The Baltic leaders wanted their cause to be considered of international importance--not simply a domestic Soviet affair. In February 1991, Baltic leaders participated as guests at a Nordic Council and in March, this organization approved a program to increase cooperation with the Baltic republics in economic, cultural, environmental and democratic matters. Following Soviet attacks on press installations and government buildings in Lithuania in January 1991, the presence of Soviet troops in Estonia grew. Repeated attacks on border check points gave evidence of the continued Soviet disapproval of Baltic independence.

At the time of the abortive coup in Moscow on August 18, 1991, Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev was placed under house arrest, and violence in the Baltics increased. Estonian leaders feared that the hard line coup plotters would use this opportunity to put a final end to the goal of Baltic independence. On August 19, Soviet troops surrounded key positions in Tallinn, while Estonian leaders barricaded themselves in the government building. Communication was hindered but not halted. The local government called for non-cooperation with the Soviet forces and insisted that the coup leaders in Moscow had no jurisdiction in the Baltic states. On August 21 the Estonian television tower in Tallinn was temporarily seized, but by this time Soviet control was on the decline. Within days after the coup attempt, Estonian leaders had banned the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) and initiated the removal of local Soviet forces and KGB troops. By early September, Estonia, as well as the other Baltic states, gained recognition by Russia, the US, and most European countries.

During 1992, Estonia was accused by Russian officials of committing gross human rights violations against Russian citizens living in Estonia, and Russian President Yeltsin warned Estonia against a policy of "ethnic cleansing." However, the Russian-Speakers' Representative Assembly later announced that Estonia had not committed any human rights violations. The ongoing struggle with Russia over the withdrawal of Russian troops from Estonia continued, and Estonia appealed to NATO to help secure its borders. Finland offered compensation to any Estonian who had served in the Finnish army during World War II.

IV. GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS

Since regaining independence in August 1991, the Estonian government, like those of its neighboring Baltic states has been in flux. The establishment of political parties, the running of free elections and democratic policy-making are all difficult processes with which Baltic leaders have little historic experience. While leaders appear to be moving towards democratic ends, the process is not yet near completion. Several issues have complicated the formation of democratic institutions in all three of the Baltic states. The establishment of citizenship and voting requirements has been hindered by the Russian minority who claim that the draft laws discriminate against minorities. However, outside officials declare that the citizenship laws are neither unconstitutional nor discriminatory. A new constitution was adopted in June 1992, and parliamentary and presidential elections were held in September. The President of Estonia as of October 1992 is Mr. Lennart Meri, and Mart Laar is the Prime Minister. The parliament is called Riigikogu ("State Assembly").

V. ECONOMY

The soil in the Baltic area is fertile, and dairy products have long been a significant export. The location of the Baltic states on a warm water coast has also led them to be a trading route for Western and Northern goods under past regimes, as well as under the Soviets. Under Soviet rule, the Baltics achieved a much higher standard of living than did the other Soviet republics. This wealth and connection with the West and Scandinavia made the Baltics the envy of the Soviet Union, thus leading to the settlement of large numbers of non-Baltic peoples in these areas.

Currently, Estonia is concentrating on a program of economic stabilization and structural reform. The task of transformation has been hindered by its vulnerability to the collapse of former Soviet markets and declining trade volumes. Industrial output fell drastically in 1991, and agriculture was hit by a severe drought in 1992. Admitted to the World Bank and the IMF (International Monetary Fund), Estonia has been approved to receive loans for restructuring. The official Estonian currency, the *kroon*, was introduced on June 20, 1992, thus replacing the ruble.

VI. RELIGION

Christianity first appeared in Estonia in the 11th century. In the second half of the 12th century, the Roman Catholic Church initiated missionary programs in Estonia, culminating with the forced conversion of the Estonians in the 1220s. However, many conflicts remained between secular and church practices. In the 1520s the Reformation and Lutheranism arrived in Estonia. In 1919 the Lutheran Church was reorganized as the Estonian Evangelical Lutheran Church, and served more than 80% of the population. In 1925 Estonia instituted the separation of church and state. When Estonia came under Soviet rule in the 1940s, atheism was instituted as the official policy, and the Lutheran Church lost its power. However, with the reassertion of Estonian independence, the Lutheran Church has been steadily regaining its

former influence, and there are an estimated 4000 Jews in Estonia. In addition, many other religions and sects have appeared in the last several years.

VII. CHRONOLOGY

3000-2000 BC		Ancestors of Baltic (Latvian, Lithuanian) and Balto-Finnic (Estonian) peoples migrate to shores of Baltic Sea
1219		Tallinn founded by the Danes
1346		Estonia sold to Teutonic Knights
1561		Teutonic Knights dissolved; after decades of war, Estonia to Sweden
1721		Conclusion of Great Northern War; Estonia becomes part of Russian Empire
1918		Estonia becomes an independent state after the Russian Revolution
1939		Molotov-Ribbentrop Non-Aggression Pact
1940		Baltic States forcibly annexed by USSR
1988	August	Publication of 1939 Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact
	November	Estonian SSR declaration on sovereignty
1989	January	Estonian Supreme Soviet declares Estonian official language of the republic; "Intermovement" formed in Estonia to advocate the cause of Russian-speaking residents of the republic
	February	Traditional Estonian flag is raised over government buildings
	March	Elections to USSR Congress of People's Deputies; voting in Estonia follows ethnic lines with Estonian Popular Front winning
	May	Estonian Supreme Soviet declares the republic economically independent
	June	Ceremony unveiling restored monument to Estonian interwar President Pāts in Tahkuranna; 30,000 attend
	August	Almost one million people join hands along the "Baltic Way" from Tallinn through Riga and Vilnius, demanding the revocation of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact; CPSU Central Committee strongly condemns "excessive nationalism" in the Baltics
	October	Estonian Popular Front declares Estonia is an occupied country
	November	Estonian Komsomol disbands; Estonian Supreme Soviet declares 1940 annexation by USSR null and void
1990	January	Estonian Communist Party splits; part remains within CPSU
	February	Estonian Supreme Soviet abolishes Estonian Communist Party's leading role in society; candidates of Estonian Popular Front and allied groups win 2/3 majority in Estonian parliament
	March	USSR Supreme Soviet passes law on the mechanics of republic secession, outlining for the first time the process by which a republic may secede; Estonia declares restoration of independence, following a period of transition from Soviet rule
	April	Estonian Supreme Soviet abolishes criminal penalties for those who refuse to serve in the Soviet Army
	May	Joint Council of Baltic States formed, to coordinate independence moves; Anti-

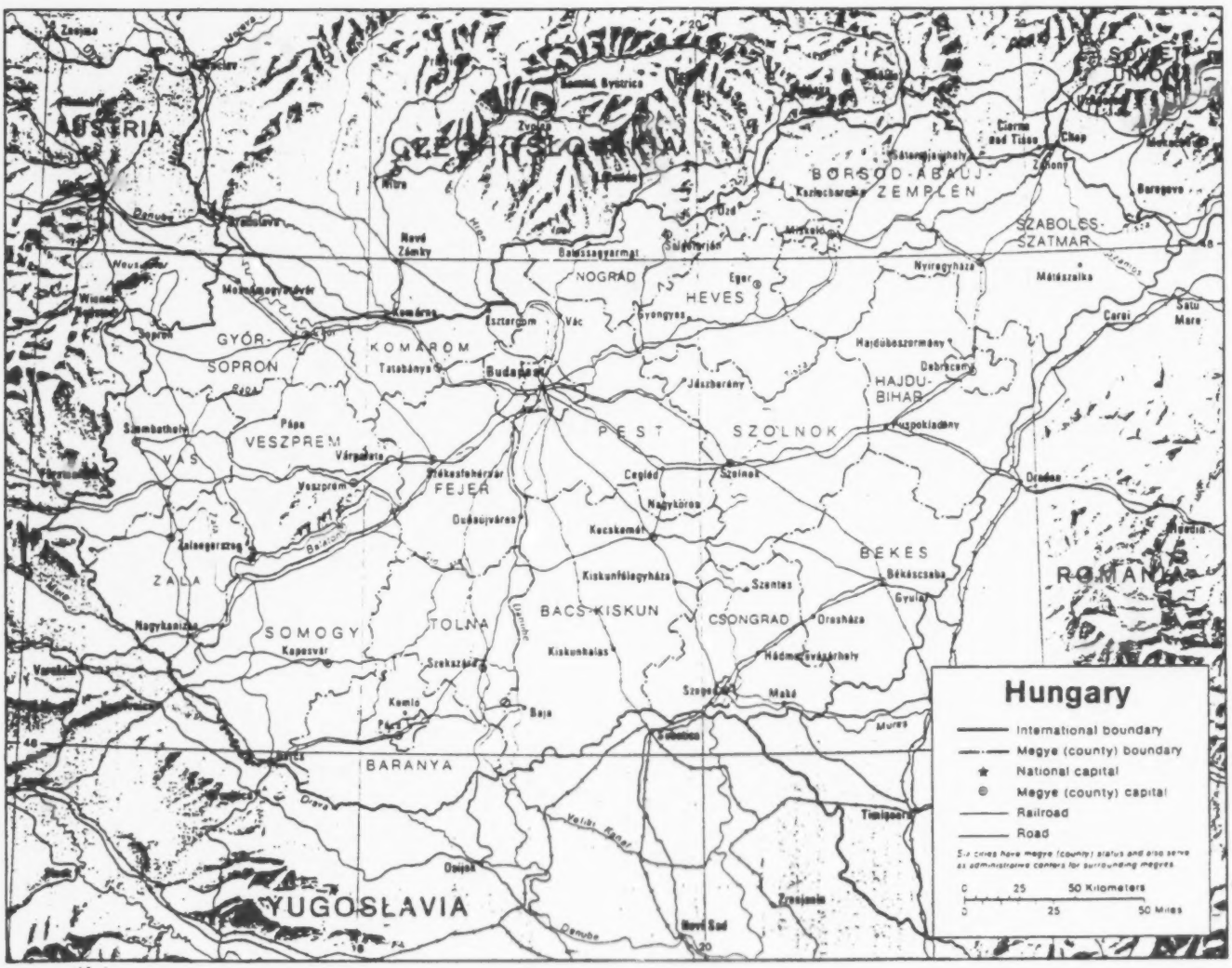
		independence forces demonstrate and attempt takeovers of Parliament buildings in Estonia
1991	March	Estonia holds referendums for independence; with a voter turnout of 83%, 78% vote in favor; Baltic states boycott Soviet referendum on keeping the USSR together as a federation; Nordic Council agrees to increase cooperation with the Baltic states in economic, cultural, environmental and political matters
	April	Baltic Finance Ministers continue to push for economic autonomy; Estonian Popular Front holds its third congress - the outcome is uncertain, pessimism and an internal split over the movement's future
	May	Debates on debt payment/compensation between Baltic and Union leaders begin
	June	Attacks on Estonian-RSFSR border customs checkpoints continue
	July	Border attacks continue; the Committee on Cooperation with the Baltic States protests the UN's unwillingness to discuss the Baltic question;
	August 18	USSR President Gorbachev is placed under house arrest; state of emergency declared
	August 19	Soviet troops surround key positions in Estonia; local governments appeal for non-cooperation with Soviet forces
	August 20	Soviet armored vehicles move into Tallinn
	August 21	Estonian television tower temporarily occupied by Soviets
	August 22	Gorbachev returns to Moscow; Estonia outlaws the CPSU;
	August 23	Baltic leaders begin to eliminate local branches of the KGB and OMON troops and arrest local Party leaders
	August 24	Russian President Yeltsin recognizes the independence of Estonia and calls for the restoration of diplomatic relations
	August 27	Twelve nations of the European Community recognize Estonia as an independent state
	August 31	Soviet OMON forces begin to leave Estonia
	September 2	The US formally recognizes the state of Estonia
	September 10	Estonia receives full membership in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe
	September 14	US Secretary of State James Baker visits the Baltic states and promises financial aid
	September 17	The United Nations General Assembly accepts Estonia as a member of the UN.
	October 24	Estonia is admitted as an associate member of NATO
	November 28	France returns pre-1940 gold deposits to Estonia
	December 4	Estonia admitted as a member of the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development
1992	January	Estonia participates in the Olympic games as an independent nation
	January 9	Estonian government announces emergency plan under which bread, milk, butter and cheese are rationed
	January 23	Estonian Prime Minister Edgar Savisaar resigns
	January 27	Tiit Vahi named the new Estonian Prime Minister
	February 10	US President Bush names Ambassador to Estonia
	March 21	An estimated crowd of 8-10,000 Russians protests in Tallinn to demand that the government freeze prices, guarantee supplies of basic foodstuffs to the poor, and discuss a new citizenship law
	March 23	Lennart Meri resigns from his post as Foreign Minister
	March 24	Jaan Manitski is named Foreign Minister
	March 26	Estonia signs a "common visa space" agreement with Latvia and Lithuania permitting travel between the three countries without a visa
	March 27	Brian Burk Low, British Ambassador to Estonia, signs a note guaranteeing the return of the gold Estonia had deposited in the United Kingdom before World War II

March 30	Authorities report the establishment of a special police force to combat economic crime; Estonia signs an agreement with Sweden to cooperate in environmental protection activities
April 1	Estonia appeals to NATO and the North Atlantic Cooperation Council to help secure its borders and to stop arms and drugs smuggling; Sweden bans the sale of arms to Estonia
April 2	Russia protests Estonia's new law on citizenship
April 6	Jaan Manitski is confirmed as Foreign Minister, and an election law is passed, bringing Estonia closer to the first parliamentary elections since the reinstatement of independence
April 10	The Constitutional Assembly approves the final draft of a new constitution providing for a parliamentary system of government with a more or less ceremonial role for the president
April 13	The Supreme Council approves the government proposal to establish a Ministry of Defense
April 16	The Supreme Council passes a law on the privatization of state and municipal residential properties, giving citizens with permanent residence state capital certificates in which one square meter in a modern apartment is equivalent to one year on the labor market
April 27	Estonia is provisionally admitted to the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank
May 7	Estonia signs the European Cultural Convention, bringing it one step closer to full membership in the Council of Europe
May 9	Authorities announce that as of July 1, visas will be required for entrance into Estonia along the eastern border with Russian
May 11	The Foreign Minister holds talks with NATO senior officials to appeal for help in removing Russian troops
May 12	Thirteen military vehicles leave Estonia for Russia
May 21	Estonian and Finnish state banking officials decide to compensate Estonian volunteers who fought with the Finnish forces against the USSR in 1943 and 1944
May 26	Estonia signs a friendship and cooperation treaty granting most-favored-nation status to Ukraine; Estonia formally joins the International Monetary Fund (IMF)
June 20	Estonia introduces its own currency, the *kroon* ("crown")
June 23	Estonia joins the World Bank
July 20	The Defense Council subordinates the country's defense forces to the Estonian government
July 27	Two Russians are wounded and 24 Estonians are arrested when a group of 30 Estonian soldiers takes over a building housing a subunit of the former Soviet navy in Tallinn
July 30	The Estonian Defense Forces seize 21 Soviet-built armored vehicles in Tallinn
August 4	The government reduces compulsory military service from 18 months to 12 months
August 5	The Estonian Communist Party declares its intention to form an election coalition called the Leftist Opportunity
August 15	The Estonian government declares that the Russian-Estonian border was established by the 1920 Tartu Peace Treaty, and that it does not recognize the post-World War II transfer to Russia of territories in the northeast and the southeast
August 24	The U.S. doubles Estonia's credit limit for buying grain to a total of $10 million
August 26	The government introduces the first national budget in the kroon, the new currency
September 7	Estonia signs a free trade agreement with Russia
September 8	The Bank of Estonia calls for a price freeze to curb kroon inflation
September 14	The Supreme Council of Estonia holds its last session

	September 29	Russia's delegate to the UN General Assembly warns Estonia against a policy of "ethnic cleansing"; the Finnish media reports that one-half of the estimated 30,000 former Soviet troops stationed in Estonia have left
	October 6	Lennart Meri is elected President by the new State Assembly, and in his first speech to the public, he calls for an acceleration of market reforms, and a rapid, orderly, and complete withdrawal of foreign military troops
	October 7	Russian President Yeltsin accuses Estonia of gross violations against the rights of Russian minorities, and warns the Estonian government that no troop withdrawal agreements will be signed until guarantees of more extensive "minority rights" for Russians are made
	October 19	Mart Laar is confirmed as Prime Minister
	November 3	Officials report that Russian defense authorities have handed over to Estonia all military property located in the central Estonian town of Viljandi
	November 7	2,000 Russians gather to commemorate the 75th Anniversary of the October Revolution
	November 9	The Nordic Investment Bank approves a $5.6 million loan to develop Estonian industry, tourism, and communications
	November 17	The Estonian Central Bank freezes the accounts of the three top commercial banks because these commercial banks had been mismanaged and did not have sufficient funds to pay their depositors
	December 3	Alexander Einseln, a Colonel in the U.S. Army and of Estonian extraction, is appointed to head Estonia's defense forces
	December 4	Sweden announces that it will give 10 million kronor in aid to Estonia for fuel purchases
1993	January 16	The oil tanker *Kihnu* runs aground four kilometers from the Tallinn harbor, spilling 30-40 tons of oil
	February 2	The chair of the newly established Russian-Speakers' Representative Assembly says that the Estonian citizenship law does not discriminate against non-Estonians

HUNGARY

Area: 93,033 sq. km (35,921 sq miles)
Population: 10.5 million
Capital: Budapest
Official Language: Magyar
Religion: Roman Catholicism (50%), Protestantism
Unit of Currency: Forint



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I. ALPHABET AND LANGUAGE

Hungarian, or Magyar, is an Ugric language of the Uralic language family and is completely unrelated to the neighboring Slavic, Germanic, and Romance languages, all of which belong to the Indo-European language family. Distantly related to Finnish, Estonian, and languages spoken in Western Siberia, Hungarian is marked by vowel and consonant length, as well as an elaborate system of vowel harmony. Hungarian is a phonetic language. The letters b, d, f, g, h, k, l, m, n, p, r, t, v, and z are pronounced as in English. The others are as follows: a (awe), á (ah), c (**c**ats), cs (**ch**urch), dzs (**j**eep), e (met), é (mate), gy (soft pronunciation of **j**uice), i and y (m**ee**t), í (m**ee**t, but held a bit longer), j and ly (**y**oung), ny (ca**ny**on), o and ó (m**ow**, latter held a bit longer), ö and ő (like a German ö, the latter held a bit longer), s (**sh**op), sz (**s**it), ty (a softened **ch**), u and ú (m**oo**t, the latter held a bit longer), ü and ű (like a German ü, the latter held a bit longer), zs (plea**s**ure). In Hungarian the first syllable of a word is always accented, and a word has as many syllables as it does vowels, each vowel being separately pronounced.

II. GEOGRAPHY

The Magyars, as Hungarians call themselves, occupy the Hungarian Plain, a large, flat, agriculturally productive region through which flows the Danube River. Surrounding the Hungarian Plain is Austria to the west, the Slavic countries of Czechoslovakia to the north and Yugoslavia to the south, and the Romanians to the east. Hungary's geographic location also brought the country in close proximity to the Turkish influence of the Ottoman Empire. Hungary's minority populations include Slovaks, Gypsies, Jews, Swabian Germans, Serbs, Croats, and Romanians, and there remain large numbers of ethnic Hungarians beyond the present borders, especially in Transylvania in Romania, in the Vojvodina region of Serbia, and in southern Slovakia.

III. HISTORY

Origins and Pre-Habsburg Hungary. The Hungarians are an Ugric people whose ancient homeland is believed to lie near the Ural mountains in the Soviet Union. Around the beginning of the Christian era, a loose conglomeration of tribes began a series of migrations that took them across the Russian steppes to the Danube basin that they now call home. After their arrival in 896, the Hungarians ravaged Europe for nearly one hundred years before they were converted to Christianity and settled in the Danube basin. They developed a large empire on the Great Hungarian Plain that lasted until 1526 when their empire was overwhelmed by the Turks at the Battle of Mohács. Hungary was then divided into three parts: Turkish-occupied Hungary, the semi-autonomous state of Transylvania, and Royal Hungary ruled by the Austrian House of Habsburg.

Habsburg Hungary. Austrian rule helped provide the Hungarians with protection against the Ottoman Turks, who were finally expelled from Hungary with Austrian aid in 1699. From that time on until 1918, Hungary became an integral part of the Habsburg Empire. The 1848 Hungarian revolution led by Lajos Kossuth was put down by the Austrians with significant Russian assistance. In 1867 Vienna agreed to the *Ausgleich* (Compromise), which created the Austro-Hungarian Empire and gave the Hungarians a great measure of autonomy within the joint empire. Chauvinistic Hungarian policies demanding that the citizens of the Hungarian half of the Empire learn and speak the Hungarian language caused increasing difficulties

because the empire consisted of more national minorities than ethnic Hungarians. This tension was especially evident in Transylvania and in Slovakia with their well-established and cohesive ethnic populations. Royal Hungary covered a vast area with contemporary Hungary as its core and including today's Austrian province of Burgenland, Slovakia, the Subcarpathian Ruthenian area in southwest Ukraine, Transylvania in Romania, and the Vojvodina in northern Serbia.

Hungary from 1914 to 1945. As part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, Hungary fought in World War I on the side of the Central Powers. Hungarian military forces predominantly fought on the Italian and Russian fronts, and after Russia's withdrawal from and Romania's re-entry into the war, on the Transylvanian front. At the time of the armistices in November 1918, Hungarian forces were in control of almost all Hungarian territory. The end of the First World War led to the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and the Treaty of Trianon, which divided those parts of historic Hungary populated predominantly by other nationalities into new nations: Transylvania in the east went to Romania, the Slovak regions of the north to Czechoslovakia, and the Croatian and Serbian regions of the south to Yugoslavia. In 1919 Béla Kun led a communist revolution in Hungary and established his short-lived regime. Kun's repressive measures, which alienated every social class, an unexpected lack of support from the war-torn Soviet Union, and Allied (Romanian) intervention led to the fall of this communist regime in the same year. A government headed by the conservative Admiral Miklós Horthy came to power and ruled Hungary for twenty years. This period was noted by a continuation of the semi-feudal Hungarian social structure and a strong revisionist drive to regain the traditional Hungarian lands that were lost by the Treaty of Trianon.

As a revisionist power, Hungary aligned itself with Fascist Italy in the 1920s and then with Nazi Germany in the 1930s. Following the forced cession of the Sudetenland to Germany by Czechoslovakia in 1938, Hungary pressed its claims against Slovakia and was awarded a strip of territory in southern Slovakia which was inhabited largely by ethnic Hungarians. In spring 1939 Hungary occupied Subcarpathian Ruthenia, which had been a part of the Hungarian Kingdom until 1918 and from 1918 to 1939 part of Czechoslovakia. In 1940 Hungary pressed its demands against Romania for the cession of Transylvania. Following the arbitration of Italy and Germany in August 1940, Hungary was awarded northern Transylvania while Romania retained southern Transylvania. Hungarian military forces participated in the Axis invasion of the Soviet Union in 1941, withdrawing its forces following the Axis defeats at Stalingrad in 1942.

During World War II, Hungary was ruled by pro-German political parties who instituted anti-Jewish laws similar to those in Germany, but deportations of Jews did not occur until spring 1944. In early 1944 Horthy attempted to withdraw Hungary from the war, so the Germans occupied Hungary themselves. By the fall of 1944 Soviet troops had occupied eastern Hungary and were approaching Budapest, and finally on April 4, 1945 the Red Army expelled the last German troops from Hungary.

Post-war Hungary. Although during World War II Hungary regained part of the lands it had lost after World War I, it again lost them with its defeat in 1945. Early Communist rule was dominated by party leader Mátyás Rákosi, who gained almost unlimited power in the purge of "Titoists" following Tito's split from the Soviet bloc in 1948. Rákosi managed to eliminate his main political rival, László Rajk, as well as other groups such as the veterans

of 1919, indigenous Communist partisans, and left-wing socialists. Rákosi's rule emphasized official Marxist-Leninist doctrine including Soviet models such as a centrally-planned economy. The death of Stalin in 1953 led to the downfall of Rákosi as the new Soviet leaders berated the Hungarian leader for his personality cult and mismanagement of the economy.

Hungary in 1956. Imre Nagy, an agricultural expert who opposed collectivization, took over the party in 1953 but was prevented from implementing his policies emphasizing consumption and welfare needs because of bitter intra-party struggles with Rákosi and his followers. This conflict developed into public debates within the framework of the so-called "Petőfi Circle." Nagy was thrown out of power in 1955. In October 1956 student demonstrations erupted into armed clashes, forcing the reinstatement of Nagy and massive reforms, including a pluralistic democratic system, a mixed economy, aid to individual farmers, the elimination of police terror, and the withdrawal of the country from the Warsaw Pact. This resulted in the infamous Soviet invasion that crushed the 1956 revolution with little reaction from the Western world. The Soviets restored order to the country and oversaw the revitalization of the Communist party under the leadership of János Kádár. Nagy was later tried and executed.

Hungary 1956-1989. Kádár was to rule Hungary for more than thirty years. He resorted initially to totalitarian methods in order to repress a nationwide workers' strike. Policies changed at the 1962 Eighth Party Congress and emphasized the decentralization of some authority, the emergence of group interests, the elimination of class discrimination in higher education, and amnesty for political prisoners. These reforms were furthered by the implementation of the New Economic Mechanism (NEM) in 1968 that introduced elements of a market economy, market pricing, and decentralized planning emphasizing managerial expertise. Concern over the erosion of the preeminence of the party as well as problems with investments, trade, income ratios, and ideology caused the slowing of NEM in the 1970s.

However, by 1978, continued economic difficulties had forced the party to reemphasize NEM and stress managerial efficiency, technical modernization, and the reduction of subsidies and prices. This culminated in a series of reforms in banking, private associations, and other economic entities in the early 1980s. Opposition to Kádár and his followers for more drastic reforms forced the growing managerial and intellectual contingent of the party to overthrow him, and Károly Grósz was elected to lead the party in 1988. Hungary, under the leadership of Károly Grósz, experienced momentous political changes in almost every area of political and economic life and moved closer to achieving democracy and freedom for its population.

IV. GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS

Traditional Post-War Structure. Until the late 1980s Hungary's political structure was very similar to those of the other communist states of East Central and Southeastern Europe: the foundation of the political system was the communist party, known in Hungary as the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party (HSWP). Following the 1956 Revolution the main party organs, namely the Central Committee, the Politburo, and the Secretariat, were filled with Kádár allies, while the lower ranks of the party became dominated by functionaries and technocrats. The party was divided into territorial units at the county, district, and village levels. The basic organizations in the armed forces, frontier guards, internal police, and the

railroad system were directly subordinate to the Central Committee. The core of power, however, remained the Politburo.

The government, like that of the other states of East Central and Southeastern Europe, was traditionally entrusted only to implement the decisions of the Politburo. The National Assembly served as the highest organ of state authority and was endowed with supreme legislative power. The most important government organ was the Council of Ministers. Local government was organized on three levels composed of representative organs, local councils, and their executive committees entrusted with administration. The party, however, traditionally maintained control of all these elements of the government.

Recent Reforms. Significant changes have taken place in Hungarian government and politics since 1985 when it became mandatory to have two or more candidates for parliamentary and local elections. These elections overturned a small percentage of the representatives and made parliamentary debate and the possibility of real power residing in the National Assembly a conceivable goal for Hungarian reformers.

Following the ouster of János Kádár and his leadership in May 1988, the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party (HSWP) was forced to move faster to counter the pressure of both the deteriorating economic situation and the independent political and social forces that had been organizing and rallying support for democratic reforms. The HSWP managed to maintain its grip on power until late 1989 under the leadership of conservative Secretary-General Károly Grósz and reformists Imre Poszgay, Resző Nyers, Miklós Németh, and Gyula Horn. Displeasure with the painstakingly slow and conservative reforms within the political and economic systems led to the tumultuous October 1989 HSWP congress. The intra-party clash between advocates of radical and of moderate reform ended with a vote putting an end to the HSWP and creating the Hungarian Socialist Party (HSP) in its place. The HSP set itself the task of revitalizing the Hungarian political left in preparation for the parliamentary elections in March and April 1990. These were Hungary's first democratic national elections in forty-five years.

Other political groups in Hungary became active, organizing and drafting alternative programs of their own. The result was a proliferation of political parties, groups, and movements, all battling for the votes of the Hungarian population in the 1990 elections. Although approximately fifty parties were officially registered, ten parties emerged as the most powerful due to their organizational abilities and larger populations bases. The Hungarian Democratic Forum, led by József Antall, a historian and former institute researcher, emerged as the clear winner in the 1990 elections, receiving 165 of the 386 seats in the National Assembly. This party's program included free and democratic elections, the separation of party and state, the establishment of a multi-party system, and a growing role for the Church within Hungarian society. The Alliance of Free Democrats came in second, winning 92 seats. This party, with its strongest support in Budapest, favored a neutral Hungary and membership in the European Economic Community. The Democratic Forum extolled populist, nationalist, and Christian values while the Alliance hailed the virtues of liberal capitalism and bourgeois radicalism.

The Forum formed a coalition government with the revived Independent Smallholders Party and other small, conservative parties. In August 1990, the parliament, after much political wrangling, elected Árpád Göncz president of Hungary. Göncz was a member of the Alliance

of Free Democrats, a former political prisoner in the 1950s and 1960s and later a professor of English. From August 1990, a balance of power has arisen between the Forum Government and the Alliance President, with Hungary's Constitutional Court mediating the balance and helping to define the roles of the President and Government. For all intents and purposes, Hungary's political system is quickly developing as a stable, Western style parliamentary democracy.

Foreign Policy. Hungary, while becoming increasingly open to the West, also received support from former Soviet President Mikhail S. Gorbachev. The most visible signs of a new orientation in foreign policy have been the establishment of full diplomatic relations with Israel, South Korea, and the Vatican; the introduction of liberalized travel and emigration policies; the removal of barbed wire and other obstacles from the Hungarian-Austrian border; former US President George Bush's visit to Hungary in July 1989; and visits of the South Korean President and the West German Chancellor to Hungary in late 1989. Concurrent with Hungary's aims of becoming a neutral nation, the country has reduced its armed forces and seen the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Hungarian territory. Hungary's progressive policies have caused difficulties with the other East Central European nations, especially with Czechoslovakia over the controversial Gabčikovo-Nagymaros dam project, and with Romania over the treatment of ethnic Hungarians in that country. Prime Minister József Antall has been extremely outspoken on the plight of ethnic Hungarians in Transylvania. His determination in this area is likely to worsen the already strained relations between Hungary and Romania. Antall also favors a continued American presence in Europe to balance a united Germany and an unstable successor to the Soviet Union.

V. ECONOMY

Traditional Post-War Structure. The economy in the late 1940s and early 1950s was based on the Soviet model of the centrally-planned economy which emphasized the intensive development of heavy industry and the collectivization of agriculture. Problems quickly emerged because all raw materials had to be imported, an influx of workers to the cities created housing shortages, and the collectivization policies failed to increase productivity.

Reform of this system began as early as 1957 when the collectivization of agriculture was actually completed. More democracy was promoted within the collectives and private plots were not only protected, but promoted. The New Economic Mechanism (NEM) introduced in 1968 specified that the central plan was to be used only in relation to national economic factors. Major price reforms, a significant concern of NEM, decreed that fifty percent of all prices were to be determined by western-style market forces.

NEM was to suffer, however, because of a powerful campaign to coordinate the economies of East Central and Southeastern Europe by the Soviet Union, and widespread concern that the regime might forsake the working class. Wage increases were approved for many low paid workers and the largest enterprise corporations were placed directly under Central Committee control.

Various debt crises and a declining growth rate forced the leadership to again implement reforms in 1978. These reforms included a price reform, breaking up large monopolies to encourage competition, merging branch ministries, and legalizing "second economy" activities that permitted small groups of workers to set up private business in state factories

in their spare time. This second economy activity was best epitomized by the success of Hungarian agriculture which produced yields only slightly below those of Western countries. The more recent reforms of the early 1980s promoted the free flow of capital throughout the system by establishing a bond market through which local companies could raise capital, and a new banking system which allowed competition for deposits and loans.

Like the other states of East Central and Southeastern Europe, Hungary experienced a deep and significant economic crisis in the mid- and late-1980s. By 1989 the country's gross foreign debt was estimated to be over $20 billion, and in the same year gross domestic product decreased by nearly two percent. The budget deficit reached a record 49.6 billion forints as the Hungarian recession of the late 1980s worsened.

Recent Reforms. While the economic crisis continued and while industrial production failed to register any gains, Hungary remained preoccupied with its own monumental political changes. The political changes of 1989 did not go far enough and did not have sufficient time to produce a political consensus on how to start the long overdue reorganization of the economy. The declining influence of the HSWP and its successor, the HSP, created a political vacuum in the country's economic sphere. Thus by 1989 the Hungarian economy was run without any comprehensive economic reform program and was managed haphazardly during the critical months.

Restrictions on individual travel were removed and Hungarians took to spending abroad with a vengeance. As a result, Hungary lost over $1.5 billion of valuable hard currency to western countries in 1989 alone. In order to entice Hungarians to keep their hard currency within the country, the Finance Ministry announced that citizens could deposit their convertible currency in Hungarian banks with no questions asked regarding the origin of the money. This marked a distinct break with fiscal policies of the past.

Hungary suffered double-digit inflation during the last two years of the 1980s as the rate reached 17% in 1989. This was fueled by the accumulating domestic debt which reached crippling levels. This led to repeated devaluations of the artificially-overvalued Hungarian forint.

Privatization of state enterprises began in 1989, raising raising questions about how to determine real estate ownership and inventory valuations. A number of Hungarian firms have entered into joint ventures with their western counterparts, bringing the total number of such ventures to over one thousand. In 1989 these joint ventures attracted over $70 million in capital. In 1991, joint ventures with Suzuki, General Motors, Kodak, and Kentucky Fried Chicken brought in investments of over $300 million.

The Hungarian government remains committed to creating a real market economy, stimulating private enterprise, increasing private ownership, and trying to attract both domestic and foreign capital. Since Hungary's resources are depleted, the authorities hope that the West will provide aid to support the economy and ensure the success of political reforms. For its own part, in March 1991 the government adopted a new four-year economic package which calls for rapid privatization of the economy and the full convertibility of the Hungarian forint by 1993. Moreover in June 1991 the government passed a bill compensating former owners of confiscated property, retroactive to May 1, 1939.

During 1992, the National Bank decided to permit foreigners to purchase state securities indirectly through an investment fund controlled by the government. The World Bank became active in Hungary, and in addition to granting a $100 million loan to Hungary, opened the World Bank office for East Central Europe in Budapest. Furthermore, more than 200,000 people filed claims with the National Compensation office requesting the return of property seized by the communist regime.

VI. RELIGION

Roman Catholic: 67.5%; Calvinist: 20%; Lutheran: 5%; Jewish: 5%; Other Protestant, Greek Catholic (Uniate), and Serbian and Romanian Orthodox: 2.5%.

Missionaries representing both Western and Eastern Christianity were active in the Danube basin since around 950. In 1000, the first Hungarian king, István (Stephen), accepted Western Christianity and was crowned by the Pope on Christmas Day. István invited Western monks to help Christianize the pagan Magyars, and this was completed, often with the use of force, by the 14th century.

In the mid-16th century, Hungary was ripe to accept the new tenets offered by the Reformation. Much of Hungary was occupied by the Turks, and there was little official control over Royal Hungary and Transylvania. The Reformation spread quickly from west to east, especially among the Germans living in Hungary and the inhabitants of the larger commercial centers and towns. Many Germans and Slovaks became adherents to the Reformation as preached by Luther and his followers, while many Magyars became adherents to the more conservative tenets of the Calvinist Reformation. In the 17th century, the Roman Catholic Church began its drive to re-catholicize Hungary. This Counter-Reformation picked up speed after the Turks were driven out of Hungary in 1699. The Roman Catholic Church was most successful in its quest in western and central Hungary, while eastern Hungary remains largely Calvinist (Hungarian Reformed). The Lutheran centers in Hungary are in the former German villages around Budapest and in the Slovak areas in southeastern Hungary near Békéscsaba. In fact, Hungary is said to have three Romes: the Roman Catholic one in Esztergom, the seat of the Roman Catholic archbishop and Prince Primate of Hungary; the Calvinist one in Debrecen; and the Lutheran one in Békéscsaba.

From the late 17th century, Jews were welcomed to settle in Hungary, and many came from Poland and Polish Galicia to northeastern Hungary and to the commercial centers of central Hungary, especially Budapest. By the late 19th century, Jews made up a very important sector of the professional class and provided extensive amounts of capital for the development of Hungarian industry. Unlike in other European countries, Jews in Hungary assimilated easily and were in fact welcomed into Hungarian society. Many Hungarian Jews considered themselves to be Hungarians of Jewish religion rather than ethnically Jewish. During the Holocaust of World War II, over 500,000 Hungarian Jews (from Hungary proper and those territories acquired by Hungary during the war) were deported to concentration camps, most during the spring and summer of 1944. Some 75,000-100,000 Hungarian Jews survived and most of those were from the Budapest ghetto; almost all Hungarian Jews living in the provinces were killed. After the war, many Jews emigrated to Israel or other countries abroad, but today Hungary has the largest Jewish community in East Central Europe and

Budapest has the only rabbinate in the region.

Hungary also has a small Greek Catholic/Uniate community, located primarily in northeastern Hungary near the Romanian, Slovak, and Ukrainian borders. Because ethnic and religious boundaries were so difficult to draw after the dissolution of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, this church is a remnant of the greater Ruthenian and Romanian Greek Catholic Churches in the northeastern part of the Empire. The Serbian and Romanian communities in Hungary also have their own Orthodox churches.

The greatest beneficiary of the fall of communism in the field of religion has been the non-traditional Protestant churches and sects. These include the Baptists, the Seventh Day Adventists, the Methodists, the Mormons, and Jehovah's Witnesses. Baha'i, Hari Krishna, and Buddhism also have their adherents.

VII. CHRONOLOGY

896		Hungarian tribes end migrations, settle in Danube basin
1240-42		Mongols devastate Hungary
1301		Hungarian crown passes to foreign rulers as Árpád dynasty, founded in 896, dies out
1526-1699		Hungary divided into three parts: Turkish rule, semi-autonomous Transylvania, and Royal Hungary ruled by the Habsburgs
1699		Turks withdraw from Hungary; Habsburg rule continues
1848-49		Movement of internal reform and independence comes to head as Lajos Kossuth proclaims independence but Russian aid helps Habsburgs reestablish rule
1867		Ausgleich--Hungary gains independence from Austria in internal matters; the two will collaborate in defense and foreign affairs; Austro-Hungarian Empire begins
1918		Hungary achieves independence; loses 2/3 of its territory, including Transylvania, Slovakia, and the Vojvodina (today's northern Serbia)
1919		Brief communist regime of Béla Kun Admiral Miklós Horthy becomes regent of Hungary and rules until 1944
1941		Hungary joins Axis Powers
1945	November	Smallholder government formed after winning National Assembly elections
1946	November	Hungary declared a republic
1947	February	Communist party allegations against Smallholders culminate in arrest of Béla Kovács
	May	Ferenc Nagy resigns as Hungarian Prime Minister
	August	Elections give leftists a 46% block; Communists dominate National Assembly and key government posts
1949	June	László Rajk arrested for high treason--beginning of purges
1950		Rightist Social Democrats purged from Communist Party
1951	January	Industrialization, rationing of food, and collectivization continue

	May	János Kádár arrested
1952	August	Mátyás Rákosi elected prime minister
1952	July	Imre Nagy becomes prime minister; Rákosi still party head; collectivization abandoned
1955	March	Nagy purged from party; András Hegedűs appointed prime minister
1956	February	Rajk rehabilitated
	July	Rákosi dismissed; replaced by Ernő Gerő, a Stalinist
	October	Nagy becomes prime minister; Gerő replaced by Kádár; withdrawal from Warsaw Pact
	November	Soviets invade Hungary; Nagy replaced by Kádár
1957	January	Kádár announces hardline conservative policies--strikes
	May	Soviet-Hungarian agreement on stationing of troops
1958	June	Nagy executed
1963	March	Amnesty releases all political prisoners
1964	September	Roman Catholic hierarchy establishes accord with church
1966	February	Conspiracy against regime by "people associated with 1956"
	November	New electoral law allows more than one candidate
1968	January	NEM announced
1972	March	Students march in Budapest to commemorate 1848
1974		Economic reform slowed
1978	January	US returns crown of St. Stephen to Hungary, taken from Hungary in 1945
1986	November	Government quietly marks 30th anniversary of 1956
1987	March	1500 people march for liberalization in Budapest
	September	Parliament approves harsh austerity measures and personal income/value added tax
1989	January	Formation of opposition political parties is legalized
	February	Hungary joins Geneva Convention
	March	Soviet troop withdrawal begins
	May	Hungarian Communist Youth League (KISZ) dissolves itself and forms the Hungarian Democratic Youth Organization (DEMISZ)
		Constitution amended to include a parliamentary vote of no confidence
		Construction on controversial and expensive Gabčikovo-Nagymaros dam project suspended
	June	Former Party leader Imre Nagy ceremonially reburied in Budapest
	July	Former Party leader János Kádár dies of natural causes
		Former Party leader Imre Nagy and his associates declared officially rehabilitated
	August	Large numbers of East Germans flee to West through Hungary
	September	US grants Hungary most-favored-nation status
		Hungarian Democratic Forum emerges as leading opposition group
	October	Parliament amends Constitution to create legal framework for multi-party system
		Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party (HSWP) dissolves itself and forms Hungarian Socialist Party (HSP)
		National Assembly condemns 1968 Warsaw Pact invasion of Czechoslovakia in which Hungary participated

	November	Prime Minister Németh predicts Hungary's foreign debt for 1989 to exceed $20 billion
1990	January	Japan announces $500 million credit arrangement, thus becoming Hungary's largest Western creditor
	February	Diplomatic relations with the Vatican established
	March	Parliamentary elections, first round
	April	Parliamentary elections, second round; Hungarian Democratic Forum wins 165 seats in National Assembly; József Antall becomes Prime Minister; the World Bank grants Hungary two loans totalling $166,000,000
	May	Prime Minister Antall names 13 new ministers, eight from Hungarian Democratic Forum
	June	Foreign Minister Géza Jeszenszky visits NATO headquarters in Brussels; says that Hungary will not join NATO after leaving the Warsaw Pact, claiming it would cause instability in Eastern Europe
	July	Prime Minister Antall announces that Hungary is seeking membership in the European Community (EC)
	July-August	Heavy price increases go into effect in an effort to halt the growing government budget deficit
	August 3	Árpád Göncz elected President; as President he is Commander in Chief of Armed Forces and can initiate plebiscites, negotiate international agreements, and grant clemency
	August 30	Prime Minister Antall suggests that East European states form a Central European Union after Warsaw Pact dissolves
	September 3	Foreign Minister Géza Jeszenszky wants East European countries to open borders in order to solve antagonisms between the countries
	September 28	Leaders from Hungary and USSR sign protocol on withdrawal of Soviet troops from Hungary.
	October 14	Opposition parties gain in second round of local elections due to low voter turnout
	October 18	President Bush meets with Prime Minister Antall in Washington
	October 23	Hungary marks 34th anniversary of 1956 revolution
	October 30	Prime Minister Antall calls on opposition parties to help government lead the country out of current social, economic, and political difficulties
	November 6	Hungary joins Council of Europe, becoming first Warsaw Pact member country to be admitted
	November 11	Hungarian Socialist Party adopts a new platform calling for the adoption of a "social-democratic course"
	November 20	Prime Minister Antall tells meeting of Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) that Hungary will leave Warsaw Pact by end of 1991 and calls on the West to aid political and economic integration of Eastern Europe into the rest of Europe
	November 23	NATO Secretary-General Manfred Woerner says that NATO will help Hungary in building a "new Europe" safe from military aggression
	December 5	Number of refugees seeking asylum in Hungary in 1990 estimated to be 17,380, of whom 70% are Romanian
	December 11	Trade agreement signed with USSR
	December 21	Negotiations begin between Hungary and European Community (EC) about Hungary's associate membership
1991	January 11	Price increases for staple foods, energy, transport, housing, and medicine go into effect
	February 15	The top leaders of Hungary, Poland, and Czechoslovakia meet in Visegrád to declare their common goals, including "independence, democracy, and freedom," a "modern market economy," and European integration
	February 21	The International Monetary Fund (IMF) approves a $1.6 billion three-year stand-by loan on the condition that Hungary continues economic reform
	March 7	Government adopts new four-year economic program calling for rapid privatization of the economy and the convertibility of the forint by early 1993
	March 22	Minister of Defense Lajos Für announces that army will be reorganized as a "purely

	defensive" force and reduced in size
March 24	Voter turnout is far below 50% in first parliamentary by-elections since 1990 multiparty election, rendering them invalid
April 3	Hungary and the Soviet Union are to receive $500 million each from the new European Bank of Reconstruction and Development to finance trade between the two countries
April 11	A Hungarian-Japanese joint venture to manufacture Suzuki cars is announced to be set up at the end of April, the investment is estimated at $233 million and will produce around 50,000 cars annually with up to 80% Hungarian parts and labor
April 16	Parliament passes a resolution the government to enter negotiations with Czechoslovakia to cease construction of the Gabčikovo-Nagymaros dam project on the Danube
April 22	Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Mečiar visits Hungary and announces that Slovakia will not stop working on the Gabčikovo-Nagymaros project
May 4	József Cardinal Mindszenty, a victim of Communist political persecution, is reinterred in the Esztergom Basilica
May 13	Parliament passes a law to enable public utilities such as telecommunications, electricity and transport, currently state monopolies, to be leased on a concessionary basis by foreign investors
May 29	Hungarian media is told that Hungary will tear down its part of the project of the Gabčikovo-Nagymaros dam project at an estimated cost of 4 billion forints ($1=75 forints)
May 31	Hungarian President Árpád Gönez and Chairman of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet Leonid Kravchuk sign a consular agreement and statement on bilateral relations that encompass trade, national minorities and environmental protection, and cultural cooperation
June 26	Parliament passes a bill compensating former owners of confiscated property retroactive to 1 May 1939
June 28	Representatives of the nine member countries of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance sign a protocol providing for CMEA's dissolution
June 19	The last Soviet soldier in Hungary leaves the country, ending more than 40 years of Soviet military presence in Hungary
Aug. 16-20	Pope John Paul II arrives for a 5-day visit, including stops in Esztergom, seat of the Hungarian Roman Catholic Prince Primate; Pécs; Máriapócs, where he celebrated a Uniate mass; and Budapest, where a crowd of 200,000 people gathered
September 7	Defense Ministry spokesman György Keleti announces that Hungary "does not with to join any military alliance" but wishes to set up a collective European security system and stresses the importance of bilateral military cooperation agreements
September 11	Hungarian grain exporters sign a $61.8 million agreement with a consortium by which Hungary is to deliver 500,000 tons of wheat and 30,000 tons of flour to the USSR
September 12	It is reported that Kentucky Fried Chicken will open 22 restaurants in Hungary over the next seven years, using only Hungarian agricultural products and Hungarian-processed food
September 17	Prime Minister Antall urges the EC and Group of Seven to impose economic sanctions against Serbia
September 18	Prime Minister Antall and Austrian Chancellor Franz Vranitzky announce plans to expand bilateral cooperation in joint ventures, privatization, finance, energy management, telecommunications, and transport
October 3	Prime Minister Antall says that NATO should extend its security umbrella to Central and Eastern Europe, whereby the security of countries in the region between the USSR and NATO would be guaranteed by NATO through bilateral ties and NATO membership
November 4	GM Europe increases its capital investment in its Hungarian engine manufacturing and Opel car assembly plant by more than $59 million in order to produce between 15,000 to 45,000 cars annually and a variety of gasoline engines
November 15	Eastman Kodak chooses Hungary as the headquarters of its first wholly owned subsidiary in Eastern Europe
November 24	Péter Tölgyessy is elected head of the Association of Free Democrats, the largest Hungarian opposition party
December 3	Hungary becomes the first country to establish full diplomatic relations with Ukraine

	December 6	Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev and Russian President Boris Yeltsin apologize for the Soviet Union's military suppression of the 1956 Hungarian revolution, calling it an inexcusable act of interference in the internal affairs of Hungary
	December 9	Eleven tons of missiles are seized at Ferihegy Airport in Budapest en route from Chile to Yugoslavia
	December 16	The Hungarian Constitutional Court rules that Hungarian abortion laws are unconstitutional, thus forcing the parliament to address the issue of abortion rights
	December 23	Terrorists attack a bus carrying Jews from the former USSR who are bound for Israel, but the emigrants escaped unhurt
1992	January 7	Parliament approves a law allowing for the privatization of property belonging to cooperatives in agriculture, industry, and services
	January 17	Foreign Minister Jeszenszky arrives in Chişinău, Moldova, to sign with his Moldovan counterpart Nicolae Ţiu an agreement on establishing relations
	March 19	Hungary signs the UN European Economic Committee's environmental protection convention in Helsinki
	March 20	Hungary establishes diplomatic relations with Armenia
	March 24	Parliament passes a resolution giving the government the authority to cancel the Hungarian-Czechoslovak bilateral agreement of 1977 on the Gabčikovo-Nagymaros hydroelectric project unless the Czecho-Slovak government halts construction work on its side by April 30
	March 25	The National Bank decides to permit foreigners to purchase state securities indirectly through an investment fund controlled by the government An official protest is lodged against the Yugoslav federal army for shots fired against two people working in the fields in the Hungarian region of Puspokboly
	April 3	Hungary signs a treaty of friendship and cooperation with Greece
	April 15	The U.S. grants most-favored-nation status to Hungary
	April 16	A number of Hungarian diplomats are expelled from Libya in response to the expulsion of 5 Libyan diplomats from Hungary in accordance with UN sanctions against Libya
	April 25	15,000 farmers demonstrate outside the parliament building in Budapest to demand the resignation of the government The police use tear gas and dogs to quell a disturbance by about 25 Chinese, Pakistani, and Bangladeshi detainees at a camp for illegal immigrants in Kerepestarcsa
	April 28	Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky arrives in China for a six-day official visit aimed at reviving bilateral and economic ties
	May 19	Hungary announces that as of May 25, the 1977 interstate treaty with Czechoslovakia on building the Gabčikovo-Nagymaros hydroelectric dam will be cancelled
	July 28	A representative of the Hungarian prime minister meets with Slovak leader Mečiar to set up a "hot line" between the two prime ministers' offices to reassure the Slovaks that Hungary is ready to cooperate with an independent Slovakia
	July 29	Budapest hosts Ukraine at the first meeting of a bilateral body on questions of national minorities, and an agreement to open more border control points between the two countries is reached
	August 18	The government releases a statement supporting minorities' efforts to preserve their ethnic identities by granting various forms of autonomy
	August 24	The World Bank grants Hungary a $100 million loan to develop trade
	September 1	Documents of the former Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party become accessible to the general public
	September 14	The head of the National Compensation office announces that the agency had processed over 202,000 claims from people requiring compensation for property seized by the communist regime
	Sept. 20-22	Chief of Staff of US Ground Forces General Gordon R. Sullivan visits Hungary and discusses a long-term broadening of US-Hungary military relations
	September 23	Hungarian Prime Minister Jozsef Antall and Polish Prime Minister Hanna Suchocka reach an agreement for a bilateral free trade zone
	September 24	Approximately 50,000 demonstrate in Budapest against the recent resurgence of extreme

		right-wing nationalism
	September 29	Prime Minister Antall receives a delegation of ethnic Hungarian parties represented in the Slovak government in order to establish good relations between Hungary and an independent Slovakia
	September 30	The 1993 state budget is presented to Parliament with a projected deficit of 180-185
forint	October 4	The Commander in Chief of NATO forces in Central Europe General Henning von Ondarza arrives for a three-day visit and meetings with officials from the Defense Ministry
	October 7-13	Minister of Agriculture Elemer Gergatz predicts that by March 1993 at the latest, some 80% of the nation's total arable land will be privately owned
	October 10	Hungary's Bench of Roman Catholic Bishops announces that Roman Catholics can for reasons of conscience turn down military service and opt for alternative civil service
	October 11	Officials report that defense expenditures will increase 10% to 66 billion forint in 1993
	October 14	South Korea offers to extend $650 million in credit
	October 21	Hungary's government accepts a basic outline on a new law on the convertibility of the forint that will enable Hungarian enterprises to convert freely their forint into foreign currency for business purposes
	October 23	At the 36th anniversary of the 1956 revolution, President Arpad Goncz is prevented from delivering his by a hostile crowd made up mostly of skinheads
	October 26	The World Bank office for East Central Europe opens in Budapest
	November 9	Prime Minister Antall reassures Jewish religious and cultural leaders that the government will act with the law to protect minorities
	November 11	Russian president Yeltsin visits with Hungarian President Goncz and becomes the first high-ranking Russian to visit Hungary in the post-Soviet period
	November 23	Rail workers hold a two-hour warning strike to press worker demands for job security and higher wages
	November 24	Hungary begins dismantling the first 14 Soviet-built tanks and other tanks near Budapest
	November 28	Hungarian leaders meet with ruling party representatives of Slovakia to discuss current tensions between the two countries
	Nov.-Dec.	Hungary is selected as the site for an Audi engine plant worth over $200 million over Germany because of lower wage costs
	December 1	Hungary signs a bilateral treaty with Slovenia
	December 7	Officials announce that Hungary will be the first country of the former Warsaw Pact to receive military aid from the U.S.
	December 8	A bill submitted to parliament addressing crimes committed during the 1956 Hungarian Revolution would make these war crimes and crimes against humanity, and therefore exempt from the statute of limitations
1993	February 9	The Constitutional Court rules that it is not unconstitutional to return elementary school buildings to their original owners

LATVIA

Area: 64,600 sq. km (24,595 sq. mi)
Population: 2.7 million
Capital: Riga
Language: Latvian
Religion: Lutheran
Declared restoration of independence August 21, 1991
Recognized by USSR September 6, 1991

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I. ALPHABET AND LANGUAGES

Latvian, the official language of Latvia, belongs to the Baltic language group of the Indo-European language family. Written in the latin alphabet, it is one of two Baltic languages still extant today (the other is Lithuanian). German influences are evident in its syntax, and most loanwords come from the German, Russian, Estonian. A law was passed in 1989 making Latvian the official state language of Latvia.

II. GEOGRAPHY

Located on the western edge of the East European plain, Latvia borders Estonia in the north, Russia and Belarus in the east, and Lithuania in the south. In the west, it is bordered by the Baltic Sea, a situation which provides many easily accessible ports, and thus making Latvia very attractive to a virtually landlocked Soviet Union. Although Latvia has more than 3,000 lakes, its natural resources are limited, and it is faced with a serious water pollution problem.

III. HISTORY

During the last two millennia B.C., Baltic tribes entered the region of modern Latvia, and either displaced or assimilated the indigenous Finno-Ugric tribes. These Latvian tribes developed agriculture and metals, established trade with the Romans, and gained a reputation as sea pirates. By the end of the first millennium A.D., the Latvians had developed a system of fortresses to protect their land from frequent Viking and Slav raids. The actual recorded history of Latvia begins in the twelfth century, when German missionaries converted the Latvian people to Christianity. Riga thus became an important member of the medieval Hanseatic League of cities.
In 1246 the Germans were reorganized into the Livonian Order of Teutonic Knights. Serfdom was imposed, and in 1346, this German-run state on the shores of the Baltic became known as Livonia. Attacks from the Russians in the east throughout the sixteenth century weakened German rule in Livonia, leading to the collapse of the Teutonic Knights in 1561. Poland and Sweden divided Latvia for the next 150 years. The 1721 treaty ending the Great Northern War between Sweden and Russia transferred Latvia to Russian rule, under which it was to remain until 1918. Despite rule from Moscow, the German landowning nobility remained culturally dominant in Latvia.

Nationalist aspirations grew in Latvia throughout the 1800s, and by the end of the century, the Latvian national awakening was completely underway. Social Democratic organizations were founded in 1901-1902, first by Russians, and then by Latvians, and they worked closely with the Russian SDs. Nationalist and socialist feelings remained strong after the suppression of the 1905 Russian Revolution, and finally exploded in the aftermath of World War I and the February Revolution in Russia. In 1918 a Provisional Government was formed, and the Latvian National Council declared independence; and in 1920, Soviet Russia signed a treaty giving up all claims to Latvian territory. During the interwar period, Latvia followed a path

similar to Estonia and shared the same fate of forced annexation to the USSR in 1940. During the next 50 years, Latvia became Russianized to the extent that in a number of large cities the Latvians themselves were no longer in the majority.

Recent Reforms

Since the beginning of 1987, Latvian reformists have clearly defined their goals and have assumed the political leadership in the republic. In June 1987, the human rights watch group "Helsinki 86" organized a successful demonstration that sparked mass political demonstrations in the other Baltic states. Of greatest significance has been the widespread support for an independent democratic Latvia separate from the USSR. Laws have been passed in Latvia reestablishing Latvian as the official state language, re-instituting the flag and state seal of the Republic of Latvia, and declaring economic autonomy.

The authority of the Soviet regime declined steadily in Latvia in the late 1980s. Despite its continued monopoly on power, the Communist Party of Latvia was not able to shape the direction of developments in the republic; rather, it was forced to adjust to changes brought about by the people. Other political groups formed and became active within the republic. The Popular Front of Latvia, an "umbrella group" for progressive political parties founded in 1988, emerged as a real political force. In 1989 the Popular Front began to state openly that its goal was an independent and democratic Latvia. In the March 1990 elections to the Latvian Supreme Soviet, candidates endorsed by the Popular Front won a majority of seats.

Parties affiliated with the Popular Front include the Latvian National Independence Movement and the "Greens." In addition, the Latvian Social Democratic Workers' Party has been reestablished and held its first congress in December 1989. In January 1989, a movement of Russian-speaking forces opposed to secession from the USSR formed and called itself "Interfront." They are represented in the legislature by a faction calling itself "Equal Rights." In May 1990, due to dissension and lack of cohesiveness, the Communist Party of Latvia split into two parties - one affiliated with the CPSU, and the other an independent Latvian Communist Party.

In May 1990 the Supreme Soviet of Latvia declared its independence from the USSR following a period of transition. Members of the "Interfront" movement protested, and for months ran a campaign collecting signatures demanding a republic-wide referendum on the question of independence. Such a referendum was held in March 1991, but not in response to the demands of Interfront. Instead it was held in defiance of a Soviet referendum on this question that had been called by the central government in Moscow. The government of Latvia officially refused to hold the Soviet referendum, and unofficial ballots cast totaled only 500,000, while voter turnout for the Latvian referendum was 88%, and 74% supported independence.

Violence continued in Latvia as it did in the other Baltic states, seen mainly as attacks on border check points by the OMON, special forces attached to the Ministry of Internal Affairs. Six people were killed in Riga's central park in an OMON attack in January 1991.

During the August 1991 coup, leaders in Latvia feared that the Baltic call for independence would be in jeopardy. On August 21, the local government reaffirmed Latvian independence. Gorbachev returned to Moscow on August 22, and within days, Latvian leaders had banned the CPSU, arrested many of its leaders, and initiated the removal of local Soviet forces and KGB troops. By early September, Latvia had gained recognition by Russia, the USSR, the US, and most European countries.

In 1992, officials in Latvia began an investigation of war crimes committed by the Soviet Union and Nazi Germany on its territory. In addition, Latvia continued demands for the withdrawal of Russian troops. Russia accused Latvia of discriminating against minorities, primarily the large Russian population, especially through new language laws which made Latvian the official language of the republic. However, the UN Human Rights Commission conducted an investigation and determined that Latvia had not committed any human rights violations.

IV. GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS

Since regaining independence the political situation in Latvia has been in flux. Debates continue on citizenship and voting issues, an especially difficult problem for Latvia because of its high percentage of non-Latvians.

Anatolijs Gorbunovs is the Chairman of the Supreme Council; Ivars Godmanis is the Prime Minister. Indulis Berzins is the head of the People's Front parliamentary faction and chairman of the Foreign Relations Commission. Latvia plans parliamentary elections for June 1993.

V. ECONOMY

Due to Latvia's geographic position, the climate has favored agriculture in general, with pig-breeding and dairy-farming the main branches. Under Soviet rule, Latvia experienced rapid industrial growth. During the Soviet period, forced industrialization was often the rule, leading to a massive influx and oversaturation of non-Latvian immigrants (predominantly Russian). Yet by the 1970s in Latvia, as in the entire USSR, the economic situation was declining. The Latvian Supreme Soviet passed a law "On the Economic Autonomy of the Latvian SSR" in 1989, and later that year suggested further integration of the economies of the Baltic states and the establishment of a Baltic common market. During 1992 the government of independent Latvia made great strides towards the establishment of a market economy, and Latvia joined both the IMF (International Monetary Fund) and the World Bank. Still, output declined sharply and prices increased in the first part of the year. In May the Latvian ruble was introduced, and in July, it replaced the Soviet ruble as the sole legal tender.

VI. RELIGION

The dominant religion in Latvia is Lutheranism which was introduced with the Reformation in the 1520s. Catholicism, and to a lesser extent, Orthodoxy have also played major roles in the culture of Latvia, as has Judaism, with as many as 20,000 followers.

VII. CHRONOLOGY

1000 BC		Ancestors of Baltic (Latvian, Lithuanian) and Balto-Finnic (Estonian) peoples migrate to shores of Baltic Sea
13th cent		German missionaries convert Latvians; settle and become ruling class
1561		Teutonic Knights dissolved; Latvia to Poland-Lithuania
1721		Conclusion of Great Northern War; most of Latvia becomes part of Russian Empire
1795		Final partition of Poland; southern Latvia to the Russian Empire
1918		Latvia becomes an independent state upon dissolution of Russian Empire
1939		Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact
1940		Baltic States forcibly annexed by USSR
1988	August	Publication of 1939 Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact
	October	Popular Front of Latvia founded
1989	January	"Interfront" movement founded in Latvia to advocate the cause of Russian-speaking residents of the republic
	March	Popular Front of Latvia wins about 3/4 of Latvian deputies' seats
	June	Popular Front of Latvia declares as its goal an independent Latvia
	July	Latvian Supreme Soviet declares republic sovereignty within USSR
	August	Almost one million people join hands along the "Baltic Way" from Tallinn through Riga and Vilnius, demanding the revocation of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact; CPSU Central Committee strongly condemns "excessive nationalism" in the Baltics
1990	January	Latvian Supreme Soviet abolishes Latvian Communist Party's leading role in society; traditional Latvian flag is reinstated
	February	Latvian Supreme Soviet declares invalid the 1940 annexations by USSR
	May	Latvian Supreme Soviet declares its independence from the USSR following a period of transition; Latvian Communist Party splits into two separate parties, one continuing affiliation with the Soviet Communist Party, the other an independent Latvian Communist Party; Joint Council of Baltic Republics formed to coordinate independence moves
1991	January	OMON troops attack government buildings in Riga, kill five bystanders in park
	March	Latvia holds referendum for independence; 88% turnout, 74% vote in favor; Soviet referendum on the question of keeping the Soviet Union together as a federation is

		boycotted in the Baltic states; Nordic Council agrees to increase cooperation withthe Baltic states in economic, cultural, environmental and political matters; the Latvian Supreme Soviet adopted a law "On the Free Development of and Rights to Cultural Autonomy of National and Ethnic Groups in Latvia"; memorial ceremonies held in Latvia in honor of those deported by Stalin in March 1949
	May	One Archbishop and two Bishops appointed in Latvia; All-Union leaders deny involvement in military attacks in the Baltic states; debates on debt payment/compensation between Baltic and Union leaders begin
	June	USSR military leader Mikhail Moiseev warns Latvia that all measures short of force would be used to enforce the military draft; attacks on Latvian-RSFSR border customs checkpoints continue
	July	Border attacks continue; the Committee on Cooperation with the Baltic States protests the UN's unwillingness to discuss the Baltic question;
	August 19	In response to the coup attempt in Moscow, Soviet troops surround key positions in Latvia; local governments appeal for non-cooperation with Soviet forces
	August 20	Casualties reported in Latvia
	August 21	Latvia reaffirms independence
	August 22	Gorbachev returns to Moscow; Latvian Supreme Council Chairman Gorbunovs asks for international recognition of the Baltic states
	August 23	Latvia outlaws the CPSU and local authorities claim property formerly seized by the Party; Baltic leaders begin to eliminate local branches of the KGB and OMON troops and arrest local Party leaders
	August 24	Russian President Yeltsin recognizes the independence of Latvia and calls for the restoration of diplomatic relations
	August 27	Twelve nations of the European Community recognize Latvia as an independent state
	August 31	Soviet forces begin to leave Latvia
	September 2	The US formally recognizes the state of Latvia
	September 10	Latvia receives full membership to the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe
	September 14	US Secretary of State James Baker visits the Baltic states and promises financial aid
	September 17	The United Nations General Assembly accepts Latvia as a member of the UN
	October 15	Latvian Supreme Soviet adopts citizenship guideline restoring citizenship to Latvians and their descendants who were Latvian citizens prior to 1940
	October 24	Latvia is admitted as an associate member of NATO
	November 28	France returns pre-1940 gold deposits to Latvia
	December 4	Latvia is admitted as a member of the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development
	December 10	Price hikes occur in Latvia
1992	January	Latvia participates in the Olympic games as an independent nation
	January 7	Dainis Ivans resigns as deputy chairman of the Latvian Supreme Council
	January 23	Latvian fuel crisis worsens
	February 10	US President Bush names Ambassador to Latvia
	March 24	Two MiG-27 fighter planes crash in separate incidents; the Latvian government claims that it had no information about any practice flights or the circumstances of the accident
	March 25	The Supreme Council decides to begin investigations of crimes against the people of Latvia and damage done to the country by totalitarian regimes, especially the USSR and Nazi Germany
	March 26	Latvia signs a "common visa space" protocol with Estonia and Lithuania, allowing

	travel between these three countries without a visa
March 30	Latvia signs an agreement with Sweden to cooperate in environmental protection measures
March 31	The Supreme Council decrees that commercial property, excluding land, owned by individuals before it was nationalized by the Soviet regime is to be returned to the previous owners or their heirs
April 1	Sweden bans the sale of arms to the Baltic Republics
April 8	The Ministry of Internal Affairs annuls visa requirements for residents of Latvia wishing to travel abroad
April 10	Russia's Foreign Minister complains to Latvia over the March revisions adopted to the 1989 language law which demoted Russian to the status of all other foreign languages
April 13	Finnish President Mauno Koivisto visits Latvia to stress neighborly relations, thus making Koivisto the highest-ranking foreign leader to visit Latvia after independence
April 25	Latvian authorities block access to the port of Liepaja where a CIS naval base is located
April 27	Latvia is provisionally admitted to the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank
April 28	The Foreign Minister presents a diplomatic note to the U.S. embassy in Riga to protest the presence of a Libyan submarine undergoing repairs in Bolderaja; participants in the North Atlantic Assembly seminar visit two military bases near Riga
May 7	A new currency which will serve as an interim currency until the lats is issued (probably in the spring of 1993) is introduced and will exist alongside the former USSR ruble in Latvia; Latvia signs the European Cultural Convention, moving it one step closer to full membership in the Council of Europe
May 11	The Foreign Minister holds talks with NATO headquarters senior officials in an appeal for help in removing Russian troops
June 17	Latvians commemorate the invasion of the Red Army 52 years before
June 18	The Riga Fund Exchange, a new bank, is established
July 9	Parliament votes to expel 15 deputies because they actively opposed Latvian independence from May 1990 to August 1991
July 20	The Russian ruble is dropped from circulation and the Latvian ruble becomes the only legal tender
July 24	The media reports that Latvia signed a letter of intent with the IMF on steps to transform the economy; approval of this agreement could provide Latvia with up to $100 million as a standby loan
July 27	Latvia announces that as of September 1, all trains crossing its borders will be subject to customs inspections
July 29	Prime Minister Ivars Godmanis meets with Russian Military Commander in Chief Mayarov over the withdrawal of Russian troops from Latvia
August 7	The account of the Bank of Latvia is frozen by the Russian Central Bank in response to Latvia's monetary reform of July 20
August 11	Latvia joins the World Bank
August 13	Latvia rejects Moscow's proposals on the withdrawal of troops
Sept.-Oct.	Latvia appeals to the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) not to let up on pressure for the withdrawal of Russian troops
September 17	Leaders of the major parties present a document calling for the resignations of the government of Prime Minister Godmanis and its replacement by a government of "popular accord"
Sept. 22-23	Latvian talks on the pullout are stalemated
September 25	Head of State Anatolijs Gorbunovs invites the UN Security Council to send observers to the negotiations on the pullout of Russian troops

	September 29	Russia's delegation to the UN General Assembly warns Latvia against a policy of "ethnic cleansing"
	October 1	A NATO Naval delegation (8 ships from 5 member states) arrives in Riga for a five-day visit to examine Latvia's defense and security situation
	October 6	The Supreme Council conducts a first-ever evaluation of the government
	October 7	Russian President Yeltsin accuses Latvia of gross violations of the rights of Russian minorities, and warns Latvia that no troop withdrawal agreements will be signed until Latvia guarantees more extensive "minority rights" for Russians living in Latvia Western diplomats inform the press that Latvia has not been violating the rights of Russian-speakers in Latvia, and that Russia had failed to provide factual information to back its claims of human rights violations in response to queries by American officials
	October 9	Officials announce that during the first eight days of October, Russian military aircraft based in Latvia had violated Latvia's flight regulations in 18 instances
	October 22	The Russian parliament requests the return of Captain Sergei Parfenov, the former deputy commander of OMON troops in Latvia, who is on trial for charges of abusing power
	Oct. 27-30	The UN Human Rights Commission, on a fact-finding mission to Latvia, finds no evidence of violations against national minorities
	October 28	Latvia and Russia sign economic cooperation accords establishing most-favored-nation status
	October 30	Supreme Council Chairman Gorbunovs calls for better integration of minorities into Latvian society
	November 3	Latvian border officials deny entry to a Russian column of 21 trucks and one bus headed for Riga because they do not have the necessary paperwork to enter Latvia; Georgs Andrejecs is appointed the new Foreign Minister
	November 19	Former Foreign Minister Janis Jurkans announces the establishment of a foundation to help provide food and heating for Latvia's population
	November 30	The media reports that an affiliate of the Russian travel agency Turservis in Rezekne will sell Russian privatization vouchers to local residents
	December 1	Several organizations representing Russian citizens and war veterans picket the Latvian Supreme Council to show their support for the USSR
1993	January	Twelve ships and five submarines of the Russian navy sink in Latvian harbors during storms; the Latvian environmental protection commission demands that the Russian navy pay fines
	January 19	Justice Minister Viktors Skudra resigns over a perceived negative attitude of the government and the parliament towards the judiciary

LITHUANIA

Area: 65,200 sq. km (25,170 sq. mi)
Population: 3.7 million
Capital: Vilnius
Language: Lithuanian
Religion: Roman Catholic, Lutheran
Declared restoration of independence March 11, 1990
Recognized by USSR September 6, 1991

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I. ALPHABET AND LANGUAGE

Lithuanian belongs to the Baltic group of the Indo-European language family, and with Latvian, is one of only two Baltic languages extant today. The language was standardized at the end of the 1800s, and in 1989 Lithuanian became the official language of Lithuania.

II. GEOGRAPHY

Bordered by Latvia in the north, Belarus in the east, Poland and Russia in the south, and the Baltic Sea in the west, Lithuania is situated on the western edge of the East European Plain, and its relief consists of both lowland plains and hilly uplands that are accumulations of glacial drift. Lithuania also has a dense system of rivers (more than 2500 waterways are over 250 miles long), and lies in the middle of one of Europe's most abundant lake regions.

III. HISTORY

Archaeological evidence shows that the first inhabitants of modern Lithuania had arrived by the 10th millennium B.C. In the 2nd millennium B.C., various population groups merged, producing the Balts, an Indo-European ethnic group whose descendants are the present-day Lithuanians and Latvians. However, the first written evidence of the Lithuanians does not appear until 1009 A.D. In the 1230s and 1240s, the lands inhabited by the Lithuanians were united into the Grand Duchy of Lithuania by Duke Mindaugus.

Unlike the Estonians and Latvians to the north, the Lithuanians managed to evade the powerful Teutonic Knights and the Russians throughout the Middle Ages. In 1386 Grand Duke Jagiello converted to Christianity and married the Polish princess Jadwiga, thus combining the crowns of Poland and Lithuania, and bringing Christianity and western civilization to the area. The Union of Lublin in 1569 created a unified Polish-Lithuanian state.

As a result of numerous wars against Russia and Sweden, and the growth of the great European empires, however, the Polish-Lithuanian republic gradually weakened. In 1795, when the final partition of Poland took place, Lithuania was given to Russia, and the last vestiges of this independent Baltic state were extinguished. Despite oppressive russification throughout the nineteenth century, Lithuania underwent a national revival similar to Estonia and Latvia, experiencing a renewed interest in and study of the language, folklore, and history of Lithuania. In 1918 the country once again acquired its independence and established a parliamentary republic.

Like Estonia and Latvia, Lithuania's parliamentary experiment was not entirely successful, and in addition to this politically fragmented parliamentary system, Lithuania was involved in territorial disputes with both Poland and Germany, drawn into Great Power politics in the 1930s, and forcibly annexed to the USSR in 1940.

Recent Reforms

Significant changes in Lithuanian society and political life began in 1988 with the establishment of the Lithuanian Restructuring Movement ("Sajudis"), a movement proposing a program of democratic and national rights for the Lithuanian nation, as well as the restoration of an independent Lithuanian state, and continued to gather momentum in 1989 and 1990. The triumph of "Sajudis" in the 1989 elections to the USSR Congress of People's Deputies confirmed that the Lithuanian movement had become the leading force in the republic and that the majority of the republic wanted greater independence. In 1990 elections, "Sajudis" candidates won a majority of the seats in the Lithuanian Parliament.

The role of the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet (LSS) changed considerably with the emergence of "Sajudis." No longer merely a body which merely ratified decisions made by the Lithuanian Communist Party, the republic's Supreme Soviet actively debated issues and played an active role in the republic's political system. In 1989 the LSS approved a "Declaration of State Sovereignty" and a "Law on Economic Sovereignty." In the same year, the LSS found the 1940 forced annexation of the country to the USSR to be illegal and invalid. The most dramatic move, however, was the March 1990 declaration of independence from the USSR, led by Chairman of the Parliament Vytautas Landsbergis. Although the Soviet government claimed it would not resort to violence, the reaction was speedy and serious. A significant Soviet military presence was displayed, Lithuanians were ordered to turn in their firearms, foreign diplomats were ordered to stay out of the republic, and the KGB stepped up its patrol of border posts.

In response to Lithuania's declaration of independence, Soviet President Gorbachev demanded its retraction and threatened imposition of direct presidential rule. When negotiations fell through, the Soviet Union imposed an economic boycott of Lithuania, and shipments of oil, natural gas, other raw materials, construction equipment, machinery, and imported food items were cut off. This blockade led to massive power shortages, plant closures, and unemployment in Lithuania. Finally, in June the government of Lithuania declared a moratorium on its declaration of independence in return for an end to the economic embargo.

In December 1990 the mobilization of large numbers of Soviet troops in Lithuania became quite noticeable. Ostensibly, the troops were searching for draft dodgers, Lithuanian young men who refused to register for or serve in the Soviet army. Young men were arrested, and Soviet tanks launched attacks on TV and press installations in Lithuania, killing 21 civilians. "Sajudis" supporters occupied and blockaded the Parliament building in an effort to prevent military overthrow of the elected government. Many feared a full-scale military crackdown. However, due to massive public outcry both in the West and within the Soviet Union, what appeared to be the beginning of a crackdown did not go any further.

Like Estonia and Latvia, Lithuania refused to participate in the 1991 Soviet referendum on the union and held its own referendum in February, in which 90% of voters voted for independence.

After the violent crackdown in Lithuania in January 1991, Soviet OMON troops did not withdraw. Various random shooting incidents occurred in Lithuania, as in Latvia and Estonia. Many of these shootings were at border posts between the Baltic states and Russia and Belarus. On July 31, 1991, seven Lithuanian border guards were disarmed and executed by OMON troops. The Lithuanian government viewed the act as an escalation of aggression and in early August demanded the withdrawal of Soviet armed forces.

The August 1991 attempted coup in Moscow led to increased violence in the Baltic states. Fearing an end to independence, Lithuanian leaders barricaded themselves in the parliament building and stated their support for Yeltsin. After Gorbachev's return to Moscow on August 22, Lithuanian leaders quickly banned the CPSU and initiated the removal of local Soviet forces and KGB troops. By the end of August Lithuania had gained recognition by Russia, the US, and most European countries.

During 1992, Lithuania continued to demand the withdrawal of Russian troops, and reconstituted the Lithuanian army. Accepted provisionally into the IMF (International Monetary Fund) and the World Bank, Lithuania was also approved to receive large loans from these two organizations for reconstruction.

IV. GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS

Since independence has been reestablished in the Baltic states, many new problems have arisen. One of these is the question of citizenship and minority rights. In Lithuania, ethnic Poles have protested, demanding equal rights in the newly developing democratic government.

Since the end of 1991, the political situation in Lithuania has also been in a state of flux. In October 1992 voters in Lithuania approved a new constitution, and in October-November they elected a new parliament. Algirdas Brazaukas was elected President in February 1993.

V. ECONOMY

An industrial-agrarian state, Lithuania's chief products include meat and dairy products, furniture, textiles, paints and varnishes, medicines, cosmetics, radio electronics, automobile parts, fertilizers, and rubber products. During 1992 the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) declined substantially, and was accompanied by a decrease in foreign trade and an increase in inflation. However, unemployment has remained low, and the government is striving to set up a strong market economy and to continue the privatization of state enterprises, agricultural land, and real estate.

VI. RELIGION

In 1251 Grand Duke Mindaugus adopted Catholicism, but the country as a whole only accepted that religion at the end of the fourteenth century. Catholicism remains the dominant

religion in Lithuania today, although Lutheranism and Orthodoxy are also practiced, and Judaism has as many as 12,000 followers.

VII. CHRONOLOGY

1000 BC		Ancestors of Baltic (Latvian, Lithuanian) and Balto-Finnic (Estonian) peoples migrate to shores of Baltic Sea
1386		Jagiello accepts Christianity; crowns of Poland and Lithuania combined
1561		Teutonic Knights dissolved; Latvia to Poland-Lithuania
1569		Union of Lublin creates powerful Polish-Lithuanian state
1795		Final partition of Poland; Lithuania becomes part of Russian Empire
1918		Lithuania becomes an independent state upon dissolution of Russian Empire
1939		Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact
1940		Baltic States forcibly annexed by USSR
1988		Lithuanian Restructuring Movement "Sajudis" founded; Vilnius Cathedral returned to Catholic church
	August	Publication of 1939 Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact
1989	February	Lithuanians call for independence at mass rallies
	March	Elections to USSR Congress of People's Deputies, "Sajudis" wins overwhelmingly in Lithuania
	May	Lithuanian Supreme Soviet declares USSR laws invalid in the republic
	June	Lithuanian Communist Party plenum, Central Committee membership resigns; Lithuanian Komsomol declares its independence from all-Union Komsomol
	August	Almost one million people join hands along the "Baltic Way" from Tallinn through Riga and Vilnius, demanding the revocation of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact; CPSU Central Committee strongly condemns "excessive nationalism" in the Baltics; Lithuanian Supreme Soviet declares 1939 Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact illegal and invalid
	November	Lithuanian Supreme Soviet passes citizenship law, amends constitution to permit freedom of thought and conscience
	December	Lithuanian Communist Party breaks with CPSU
1990	January	Gorbachev attempts, unsuccessfully, to bring Lithuanian Communist Party back into CPSU
	February	Lithuanian Supreme Soviet declares invalid the 1940 annexations by USSR; Lithuanian Supreme Soviet abolishes censorship and legalizes private property in the republic; Sajudis candidates win in elections to Lithuanian Supreme Soviet
	March	Lithuania declares itself independent from USSR
	April	A Soviet economic boycott of Lithuania is imposed; shipments of oil, natural gas and other raw materials are cut off
	June	Massive power shortages due to the economic blockade lead to plant closures and unemployment in Lithuania; Lithuanian Parliament agrees on a moratorium on its declaration of independence in return for an end to the economic embargo

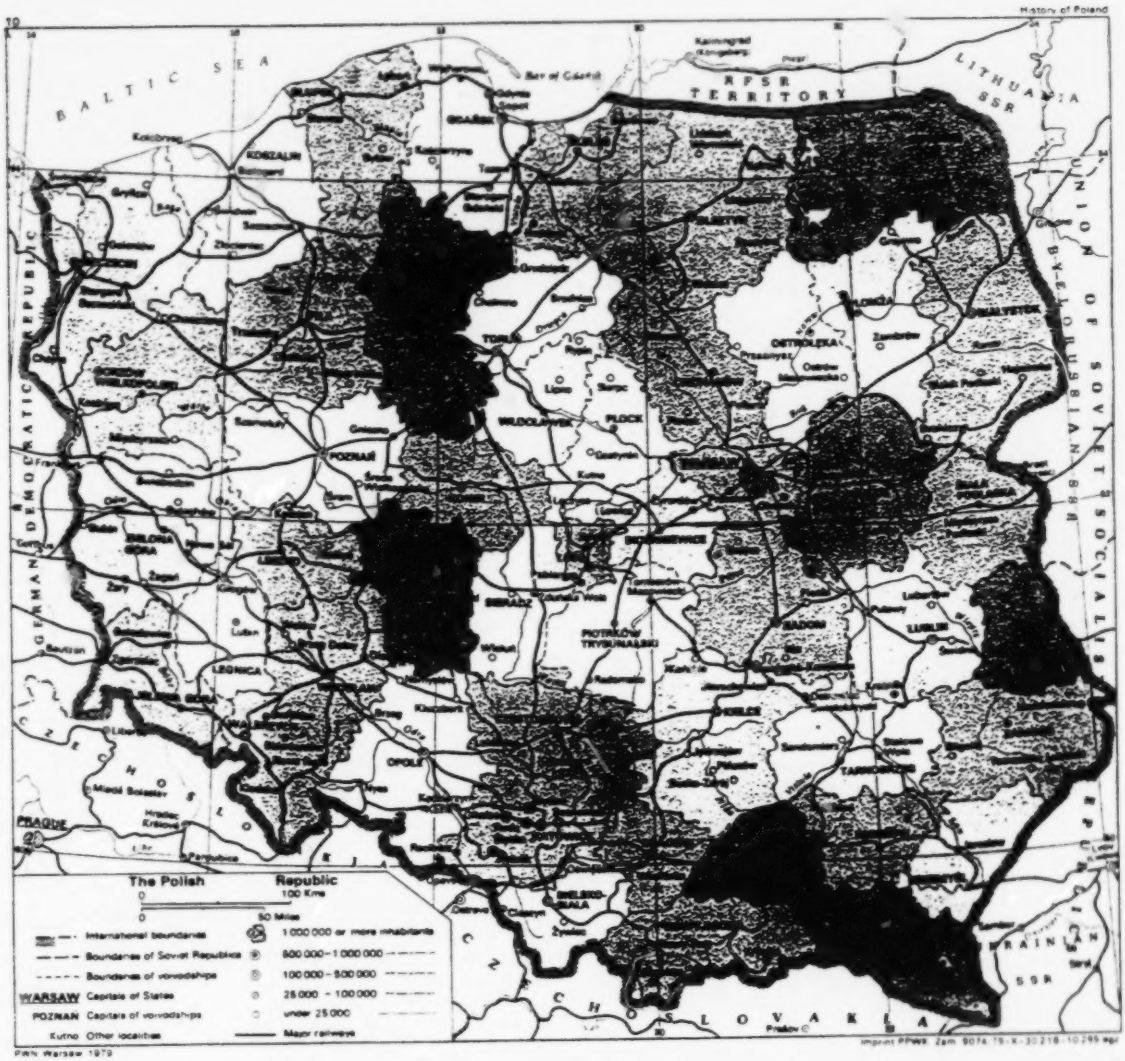
	July	Economic embargo against Lithuania partially lifted
1991	January	Soviet military attacks launched on TV and press installations and government buildings in Lithuania, 21 civilian deaths reported; Sajudis supporters occupy the Parliament building in an effort to prevent military overthrow of the elected government
	February	Lithuania holds a referendum for independence: Voter turnout: 85%; 90% vote for independence
	March	Baltic states boycott Soviet referendum on the retention of the Union; Nordic Council agrees to increase cooperation with the Baltic states in economic, cultural, environmental and political matters; Lithuania determines its own separate state budget
	April	Strength of Lithuania's Union of Workers grows as they support striking Soviet workers; a Lithuanian customs post temporarily seized by Soviet troops
	May	Chairman of Lithuanian Supreme Council Landsbergis visits the US; Landsbergis, Savisaar and Godmanis speak to the US Commission of Security and Cooperation in Europe, asking for political and economic support; two bishops are appointed in Lithuania; Soviet Union leaders deny involvement in military attacks in the Baltic states; debates on debt payment/compensation between Baltic and Union leaders begin
	July	Border attacks continue; the Committee on Cooperation with the Baltic States protests the UN's unwillingness to discuss the Baltic question; a popularity poll in Lithuania shows that 83% of the residents of Lithuania support independence, while only 4% oppose it; Landsbergis is the most popular political figure
	July 29	Lithuania and the RSFSR recognize each other's independence and formalize relations
	July 31	Seven Lithuanian border guards killed; Lithuanians view the act as an escalation of Soviet aggression; Croatian parliament votes to recognize the Republic of Lithuania
	August 9-11	Lithuanians protest outside the Vilnius OMON headquarters, demanding the withdrawal of OMON troops; officials report that only 13% of those in Lithuania drafted into the Soviet armed forces joined the army
	August 19	Lithuanian parliament states its support for Russian President Yeltsin and "all progressive Russian forces"; Soviet troops seize Lithuanian television and radio broadcasting centers and threaten the Lithuanian parliament building
	August 22	As the attempted coup closes, Lithuania outlaws the CPSU; Lithuanian government demands an immediate withdrawal of all Soviet military forces
	August 23	Baltic leaders begin to eliminate local branches of the KGB and OMON troops and arrest local Party leaders
	August 27	Twelve nations of the European Community recognize Lithuania as an independent state
	August 31	Soviet OMON forces begin to leave Lithuania
	September 2	The US formally recognizes the state of Lithuania
	September 10	Lithuania receives full membership to the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe
	September 14	US Secretary of State James Baker visits the Baltic states and promises financial aid
	September 17	The United Nations General Assembly accepts Lithuania as a member
	October 21	Lithuania refuses to take on a share in the Soviet debt
	October 24	Lithuania is admitted as an associate member of NATO
	November 11	Prices begin to rise in Lithuania; price of meat by 50% and that of dairy by 25%
	December 4	Lithuania is admitted to membership in the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development
1992	January	Lithuania participates in the Olympic games as an independent nation
	January 28	Lithuania issues the first new passports of the Republic of Lithuania

January 30	The Lithuanian Sajudis party splits and the Santaros (Concilliation) Faction is formed
January 31	Lithuania receives most-favored nation status on some products from the European Community
February 10	US President Bush names Ambassador to Lithuania
March 23	Another incident involving former USSR border guards is reported when a Swedish businessman is denied passage on a Swedish ship despite the permission of the Lithuanian authorities.
March 26	Lithuania signs a "common visa space" protocol with Estonia and Latvia, allowing travel between the three countries without a visa
March 30	Lithuania signs an agreement with Sweden promising to cooperate in environmental activities
April 1	Sweden bans the sale of arms to Lithuania
April 2	Britain repays the gold that Lithuania deposited when it was annexed by the USSR in 1940
April 7	Prosecutors arrest a high-ranking officer of the former Soviet Baltic Fleet for having backed the failed coup in August 1991
April 23	Supreme Council Chairman Landsbergis returns from France where he signed an investment protection agreement to help promote French investment in Lithuania
April 27	Lithuania is provisionally admitted to the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund
April 28	Landsbergis sends a telegram to Yeltsin demanding a halt to the transfer of fresh Russian troops to Lithuania
May 1	Lithuania issues a new set of coupons (commonly known as *vagnorkas*) to serve as a temporary currency
May 4	Prime Minister Gediminas Vagnorius meets with Russian First Deputy Foreign Affairs Minister Fedor Shelov-Kovedyaev to sign documents ratifying the establishment of diplomatic relations between Lithuania and Russia
May 5	Saulius Caplinskas, director of the AIDS Prevention Center in Vilnius, releases AIDS statistics in Lithuania: 12 people are infected with the AIDS virus
May 7	Lithuania signs the European Cultural Convention, moving one step closer to full membership in the Council of Europe
May 11	The Foreign Minister holds talks with NATO headquarters senior officials to appeal for help in removing Russian troops
May 15	Shots are fired into the wheels of two Russian military vehicles at a National Defense Post after the column of six vehicles refused to stop at two other National Defense Posts; upon inspection, it was discovered that three vehicles were carrying liquid fuel and lacked permits
May 16	Prime Minister Vagnorius submits his resignation because of his belief that the government is no longer able to control the republic's economic and social life due to left-wing opposition in the parliament
May 23	A popular referendum rejects the establishment of a strong presidency
June 26	Russian officials return to Lithuania approximately 50,000 KGB files with information about Lithuanians exiled to Siberia and persecuted by the KGB, and those who fled to West Germany
July 20	Authorities report an accident in the cooling system of the first reactor of the Ignalina Nuclear Power Plant
July 21	Aleksandras Abisala is elected Prime Minister
July 27-28	Prime Minister Abisala meets with Germany's First Deputy Transportation Minister Wolfgang Groble to discuss international transportation treaties and the restitution of railroads, and to sign an agreement on equal rights for shops in German and Lithuanian ports.

	Aug. 10-12	Lithuanian and Russian officials meet to discuss the withdrawal of Russian troops
	August 25	The Economic Community opens an office in Vilnius to provide information and assistance to conserve energy in industry, transportation, and housing
	September	Lithuania appeals to the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) not to let up on pressure for the withdrawal of Russian troops
	September 17	Russian troops begin serious preparations for a withdrawal from Lithuania
	September 23	Prime Minister Abisala announces that on October 1, Lithuania will abandon the ruble, and that rubles will be exchangeable as foreign currency in Lithuanian banks
	September 28	Prime Minister Abisala takes his first official trip abroad and meets with Polish President Lech Walesa and Prime Minister Hanna Suchocka to discuss investment protection, border controls, and organized crime
	October 1	Lithuania replaces the ruble with temporary coupons (the *talonas*) until the new currency, the litas, is introduced
	October 10	Sales of gasoline for private and state motor vehicles stopped; gas is sold to the public only at six hard-currency stations operated by a Lithuanian-Finnish joint venture
	October 12	Prime Minister Abisala meets with Russian acting Prime Minister Egor Gaidar to discuss settling accounts and the resumption of oil deliveries in hard-currency transactions
	October 14	The second reactor at the atomic power plant at Ignalina is shut down after the discovery of a radiation leak
	October 17	Officials report that energy prices will increase due to higher costs of oil and natural gas from Russia
	October 21	The IMF accepts Lithuania's economic reform program and approve credits worth $82 million for the next 11 months
	October 22	The World Bank approves a $60 million loan to Lithuania to buy medicines, feed grain, and energy
	October 25	In parliamentary elections, the largest share of the vote goes to the Lithuanian Democratic Labof Party, the successor to the Lithuanian Communist Party
	November 6	Lithuania purchases two frigates from the Russian Baltic Fleet to patrol the country's coast
	November 10	The oil refinery at Mazeikiai is shut down because oil supplies from Russia stopped on November 6
	November 18	Parliament decides to reconstitute the country's army, with one of its primary tasks the supervision of the withdrawal of Russian troops
	November 25	Parliament elects Lithuanian Democratic Labor Party Chairman Algirdas Brazauskas acting president
	November 26	Abisala announces the resignation of his government
	November 30	Defense Minister Audrius Butkevicius travels to Beijing to sign a bilateral cooperation treaty
	December 1	Bronislavas Lubys nominated prime minister
1993	February 6	Lithuania buys its first four military jets
	February 10	Lithuanina signs a bilateral trade and economic agreement with Tajikistan worth approximately $5 million per year; Lithuania will supply compressors, refrigerators, and food; Tajikistan will provide cotton and aluminum
	February 14	Democratic Labor Party Chair Algirdas Brazaukas elected President

POLAND

Area: 120,799 sq. miles
Population: 37.8 million
Capital: Warsaw
Language: Polish
Religion: Roman Catholicism
Unit of Currency: Złoty
GNP per Capita: US$4,200



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I. ALPHABET AND LANGUAGE

Polish is a West Slavic language and uses the Latin alphabet. Polish spelling is largely phonetic. Some letter clusters correspond to one sound. The letters b, d, f, k, l, m, n, p, s, t, and z are pronounced as in English. The others are pronounced as follows: a (**cut**), ą (nasal o, as in the French **on**), c (**rats**), ć/cz/ci (**church**), ch and h (**half**), dź/dż/dzi (**jump**), e (**red**), ę (nasal e as in French **vin**), g (**get**), i (**machine**), j (**young**), ł (**window**), ń/ni (**onion**), o (**pot**), ó/u (**roof**), r (clearly trilled), rz (**pleasure**), ś/sz/si (**shop**), w (**vine**), y (**rich**), ż/ź/zi (**zh** as in Zhivago).

II. GEOGRAPHY

The word *Polska* (Poland) comes from the Polish root *pole*, which means field or plain. While Poland has expanded and contracted territorially over the past 1000 years, the central part of Poland bordered by the Oder river to the west and the Pripet marshes to the east is flat, originally a forested plain. To the south, Poland is bordered by the Carpathian mountain range. The Vistula river, originating in the Tatra mountains in the southeast, flows through Poland to the north and empties into the Baltic Sea at Gdańsk. Because of its flatness, and because it has no "natural frontiers" to the west or east, Poland has been a traditional route for invasions and military advances. Poland is rich in mineral resources (coal, copper, salt) in the south, while the central and northern regions are mainly suited for agriculture.

Since World War II the ethnic composition of Poland has been very homogenous - over 98.7% Polish. Other ethnic groups include Ukrainians (0.6%) and Belarussians (0.5%). Prior to the war many Germans and Jews also lived in the Polish territory. Most Germans were expelled or fled back to Germany and most Jews were killed or emigrated.

III. HISTORY

Early History. In the tenth century the tribes on the Vistula and Oder Rivers united under the Piast princes, the founders of the modern Polish state. In 966 Mieszko I accepted baptism according to the Latin rite. For several centuries Poland was ruled by the Piast dynasty and the Polish state enjoyed great prosperity as one of the most powerful countries in Europe. The last Piast ruler, King Casimir (Kazimierz) the Great, died in 1370 without male heirs. It was during his reign that the Poles dominated the economy of much of Eastern Europe. Casimir left a daughter, Jadwiga, who in 1386 married the Lithuanian duke Władysław Jagiełło. Jagiełło became King of Poland and Lithuania upon Jadwiga's death in 1399, thus founding the Jagiellonian Dynasty.

The Polish Lithuanian Union. The Polish-Lithuanian union that took place under the Jagiellonian dynasty increased the size of the state. The defeat of the Teutonic Knights at Grunwald in 1410 removed the greatest threat to Polish domination in the area. By 1466 the Polish-Lithuanian state extended from the Baltic to the Black Sea, and nearly to Moscow in the east. This was the beginning of the Golden Age of Poland that lasted until the 17th century. In the 16th century this Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth developed a unique political system which gave supreme power to the parliament, or *Sejm* (made up of representatives of the nobility or "szlachta"), limiting the power of the monarchy. The individual rights extended to each member of the nobility were carried to the extreme, however, culminating in the concept of the *Liberum Veto*, whereby the dissenting vote of a single noble deputy could defeat a bill and dissolve the *Sejm*.

After the death of the last Jagiellonian king, Sigismund II (Zygmunt), in 1572, the *Sejm* decided that future kings would be elected. The gradual decline of Poland in the 17th and 18th centuries was chiefly due to the changing balance of power in the region, characterized by the evolution of powerful monarchies that were in sharp contrast to the Polish nobility's "democratic anarchy" with its paralyzing *Liberum Veto*. During the 16th and 17th centuries, Poland lost a vast amount of territory in wars with Russia, Sweden, and the Cossacks of the Ukraine.

The Partitions. These setbacks, and the foreign intervention which the elective monarchy invited, culminated in three successive partitions of Poland by Russia, Prussia, and Austria, beginning in 1772. Neither the attempt in 1791 to introduce a liberal constitution (the Constitution of May 3), nor the national insurrection of 1794 led by Tadeusz Kościuszko could save Poland from being totally absorbed by its neighbors in 1795. Although Napoleon reestablished a Polish state in 1807, the Congress of Vienna, convened in 1815 after his defeat, again reinstated the partitions. The Poles rebelled unsuccessfully in 1830, and again in 1863. During the partition period an intense national consciousness developed, particularly in the Russian and Prussian partitions where policies of Russification and Germanization were brutally followed. The cultural situation in the area incorporated into the more diverse Austro-Hungarian Empire was much more favorable. It was in the Austrian partition that Polish arts continued to flourish. Emigre artists like Chopin, Mickiewicz and Słowacki also helped preserve the national culture. Polish emigres also participated in military actions abroad, as Kościuszko had in the American Revolution and as many Poles did in the Napoleonic wars.

The Interwar Period. The simultaneous collapse of Germany and Russia at the end of World War I created a political vacuum that permitted the allies to establish an independent Poland (one of Wilson's Fourteen Points). Polish victory in the Polish-Soviet War of 1920 allowed Poland to set up a state that included many minority nationalities. The three former partitioned areas of Poland had developed at different paces economically, culturally, and politically under different systems for over one hundred years. The chief problems of the interwar period were the integration of the three former partitions, the worldwide economic depression of the 1930s, the inability of the numerous political parties to form stable governments, and gradually worsening relations between Poles and non-Poles. Marshal Józef Piłsudski, who had led the 1920 war against the Soviets, took power by coup in 1926, and led the country until his death in May 1935.

World War II. On September 1, 1939 Poland was attacked by Germany. As agreed in the Molotov-Ribbentrop Non-Aggression Pact, the Soviet Union invaded Poland on September 17, and Poland was divided into occupied territories. Many Polish soldiers fought in special Polish units with the Allied armies. The Polish homeland suffered immensely under occupation. Millions of Polish citizens were deported to the Reich and the Soviet Union, where they endured appalling conditions in forced labor camps and many died. Altogether more than six million Polish citizens were killed during World War II, including almost the entire Polish-Jewish population. Resistance groups in Poland were large and active, especially the 300,000-strong Home Army which was aligned with the London government-in-exile. Attempted uprisings against Hitler's forces, first by the Jews of the Warsaw Ghetto in April 1943 and then by the Home Army in Warsaw in Summer 1944 ended in bitter defeat. During the Warsaw Uprising of 1944 the Soviet Red Army waited across the river, refusing assistance, as the Poles fought to take control of their capital. Their defeat by the Nazis meant the destruction of any possible military or political opposition to the Soviets, who had already chosen a group of Moscow-trained Polish communists to take control of the country after the war. The discovery in Katyń

of mass graves of Polish army officers killed by the Soviets, and the Soviets' subsequent denial of responsibility, led to a breakdown in relations between Stalin and the Polish government-in-exile. As agreed upon by the Great Powers at Yalta, Poland was "liberated" by the Soviets and left in their sphere of influence.

1945-1970. Much of Poland had been destroyed during the War. Warsaw and Gdańsk, for example, were both 95% destroyed. Many Poles who had been active in the Home Army, a significant number of them intellectuals, were imprisoned or exiled to Siberia. The eastern regions of Poland (including the cities of Vilnius in Lithuania and L'vov in Ukraine) were incorporated into the Soviet Union. In return, Poland's borders were shifted westward to the Oder-Neisse rivers and massive resettlement of population began: Germans from the western regions were expelled to Germany, and Poles from the eastern regions were resettled in the new western territories.

Stalin put Bolesław Bierut in power as First Secretary of the Polish Communist Party (PPR) to carry out Soviet policies in the country. A centrally planned economy was established. The Polish Workers Party and the Polish Socialist Party merged to form the Polish United Workers' Party (PUWP). But the Beirut regime failed to win the support of either the intellectuals or the workers. After Stalin died in 1953, the policies which the PUWP had carried out under his orders in Poland began to be openly questioned. Bierut died in February 1956 in Moscow as Khrushchev delivered his "secret speech" at the 20th Party Congress denouncing Stalin. In June 1956 a workers revolt in Poznań sparked a series of events which eventually brought to power Władysław Gomułka, who had previously been imprisoned for opposing Stalinization. While a committed communist, Gomułka wanted to build communism in Poland independently of Moscow, and he was sensitive to his fellow Poles' desire for personal and national freedom. He sponsored a series of political and economic reforms under which civil liberties were restored to a considerable degree, and state interference in the affairs of the Catholic Church virtually ceased. Some economic reorganization was carried out, and the collectivization of agriculture was stopped. But Gomułka ignored those who advocated total economic decentralization, and by 1958 he had returned to the old strategy of rapid, forced industrial investment.

During the 1960s, Poland remained politically and economically aligned with the Soviet Union. In 1968, student protests over Soviet interference in Poland's affairs provided a pretext for a faction within the PUWP led by Mieczysław Moczar, who tried to take power away from Gomułka and his supporters by leading a witch-hunt for supposed Jewish "Zionist spies." Moczar succeeded in driving most of Poland's few remaining Jews out of the country but failed to oust Gomułka. Nevertheless, Gomułka's weakness during the 1968 events made it clear that his reform program was bankrupt.

The Gierek Years. Dissatisfaction with Gomułka led to serious workers' riots in 1970, when the government announced drastic hikes in food prices just before Christmas. The worst riots were in the Baltic coast cities of Szczecin and Gdańsk, where many workers were killed by riot police. These disturbances, together with those of 1968, made it clear to many in the PUWP that Gomułka could deal neither with the economy nor with the party's hard-liners. This feeling was most palpable among military officers, led by General Wojciech Jaruzelski, and among the young, moderate technocrats led by Edward Gierek, who now replaced Gomułka as party leader.

Gierek was from the coal-mining region of Silesia. He appealed to workers, asking for their help in pulling Poland out of its economic stagnation. In return, he promised economic reforms based

on decentralization. The party was to abandon its control over the economy, giving this responsibility to the state apparatus. In 1974, however, the reforms were halted due to Soviet pressure. Gierek began to recentralize the economy and weaken the power of middle- and lower-level bureaucrats. Poland took out massive foreign loans, ostensibly to develop its economy, which were largely squandered on large, inefficient industrial complexes. A series of high-level scandals chipped away the prestige of the leadership. The world oil crisis plunged the economy deeper into trouble as the government borrowed ever larger amounts of money from the West. When Gierek tried to raise food prices in 1976 riots broke out across the country, two of the worst occurring the industrial towns of Radom and Ursus. The price increases were rescinded the next day.

Reacting to the beatings that occurred during the Radom riots, a group of intellectuals formed the Workers' Defense Council (KOR). Underground presses published essays pointing out the inadequacies of the system, as well as historical writings addressing issues which were not allowed to be discussed in state schools. Students and professors formed underground "flying" universities where they could discuss the country's problems without party interference. Most important, intellectuals and workers began a dialogue. In October 1978, Polish Cardinal Karol Wojtyla was elected Pope of the Roman Catholic Church. In June 1979 he made a pilgrimage to Poland. His visit symbolized for many Poles the renewal which seemed to have taken place in Polish society. The Poles' confidence in their own strength increased as respect for their communist rulers waned.

1980s. In 1980 a series of strikes erupted nationwide, culminating in the August strike at the Gdańsk shipyards. The Gdańsk workers quickly agreed that their most important goal was the establishment of independent trade unions which could protect their other gains. After a series of dramatic negotiations in the worker-occupied shipyard, government representatives gave in to the strikers' demands. The Independent Self-Governing Trade Union Solidarity ("Solidarity" for short) was officially recognized. Divisions within the party over the handling of the strikes caused the fall of Gierek and the election of Stanisław Kania as party chief. Throughout 1980-81 Polish workers organized and attempted to gain greater autonomy for their individual enterprises. Numerous strikes were called, usually ending in government concessions. Solidarity eventually enrolled 10 million members. By contrast, the PUWP had been only 3 million strong at its height, and was now losing members rapidly to Solidarity. Meanwhile, the economy grew weaker, and the Soviets began to put pressure on the Polish the government to respond to both the political and economic crises. In February, Defense Minister General Wojciech Jaruzelski was named Prime Minister, and in October he became First Secretary of the PUWP as well. On December 13, 1981 Jaruzelski imposed Martial Law, claiming such a move was necessary "to avoid civil war." Communication lines were cut, Solidarity activists were interned, and the borders were closed. Solidarity was still alive, but it had been driven underground, where it could play a political role only indirectly and with difficulty. During the two years of Martial Law, political reforms that had been implemented during the period of Solidarity's legal existence were quickly reversed and replaced by new, restrictive laws. Jaruzelski admitted the need for economic reform, but insisted on a slower pace than that which Solidarity activists had advocated. Small private investment was allowed, as was limited foreign investment. But the taste of political and intellectual freedom they had gotten in 1980-81 left the population reluctant to submit once more to the PUWP's power monopoly. By the mid-1980s the Polish economy was fighting to maintain itself, foreign debts amassed in the 1970s were coming due, and the need for drastic change was clear.

In March 1985, Mikhail Gorbachev became General Secretary of the Soviet Communist Party and immediately began advocating new policies which he called "glasnost" and "perestroika" (openness and restructuring). In Poland, Jaruzelski attempted to involve Solidarity supporters in implementing change along the lines favored by Gorbachev, forming a Consultative Council which included members of Solidarity. In Fall 1988, talks began between the government, the Catholic Church, and Solidarity to discuss possible avenues of cooperation. In February-March 1989, the three sides sat down at the so-called Round-Table negotiations, at which they mapped out a plan for economic and political reform which was to begin with free elections to a new, bicameral parliament. Elections to the new Polish Senate took place in June 1989 and resulted in an overwhelming victory for Solidarity candidates.

1989-1992. While everyone expected that free elections would be the beginning of a new era of political freedom in Poland, no one expected subsequent events to happen as rapidly as they did. Solidarity's victory in the June 1989 elections had been so overwhelming that the PUWP was unable to hold its coalition government together. Though Solidarity had not planned to take power for at least another year, Tadeusz Mazowiecki, a Solidarity candidate, was named Prime Minister in August 1989. The leading role of the communist party was abolished, and the first non-communist government in a Soviet bloc country in over 40 years took power. In January 1990 the PUWP held its last party congress, voting to dissolve itself. Presidential elections were held in November 1990, and, despite a surprisingly strong challenge by emigre businessman Stanisław Tymiński, Solidarity leader Lech Wałęsa won. In January, 1991 Jan Krzysztof Bielecki became the new Prime Minister. Faced with strong opposition to its economic reform plan, the Bielecki government tried to resign in September 1991, but parliament refused to accept its resignation. The Mazowiecki and Bielecki governments successfully implemented profound political and economic reforms, but both Mazowiecki's Democratic Union and Bielecki's Liberal-Democratic Congress did poorly in the October 1991 parliamentary elections. On November 25 Bielecki resigned as Prime Minister. On December 5 Wałęsa named as Prime Minister Jan Olszewski, the candidate of the five-party coalition which had won the October elections. The Olszewski government proved unable to get parliamentary or public support for its economic reforms, however, and repeated quarrels with the president over the division of power between the two led Wałęsa to withdraw his support for Olszewski's cabinet, which fell in May 1992. Wałęsa then appointed Waldemar Pawlak, who tried unsuccessfully to form a government for almost two months before resigning. Pawlak was succeeded by Hanna Suchocka, Poland's first woman prime minister, who was approved by the Sejm on July 10.

IV. GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS

Until June 1989, Poland's government was based on a Soviet-style constitution. State power was concentrated in a unicameral parliament (called, like every Polish parliament since the Middle Ages, the *Sejm*) which elected a 15-member government called the Council of State. The government's main function was to direct the national economy by preparing and implementing national economic plans. Local government was based on a four-level system consisting of provincial, county, municipal, and rural organs. As in other Soviet bloc countries, real power in Poland was exercised by the communist party. The PUWP (as the Polish communist party was called) duplicated the structure of national and local government, and at each level a party commissar or committee decided what the government organs did. The PUWP itself was controlled by a politburo, which was thus the ultimate political authority in the country.

In June 1989, the parliament was restored to its pre-war bicameral form consisting of a Senate

of 100 members and a *Sejm* of 450 members (the word *Sejm* can refer either to the lower house or to the entire parliament). On May 27, 1990 local elections were held for which voter turnout was only 42%. Solidarity won just over 40% of the offices, with most of the rest going to unaffiliated candidates.

On November 25, 1990 free presidential elections were held. On December 22, 1990 General Wojciech Jaruzelski stepped down and Lech Wałęsa was sworn in as president. Jan Krzysztof Bielecki was appointed Prime Minister. Wałęsa used powers reserved to the president under the old constitution to appoint his own supporters to Bielecki's government.

In 1990 a new system of local government was established in Poland whereby local officials were given operational autonomy. Problems with imprecise legislation and inadequate funding still hamper the development of this system.

Twice during June 1991 Wałęsa vetoed election rules proposed by the *Sejm*, where 65% of the seats were still held by former communist party members. Wałęsa had hoped to wait until the development of political parties was well under way before holding elections, but on July 6 he was forced to approve the electoral law. Another source of strife between Wałęsa and parliament has been the various governments' attempts at gaining broader control over economic reform. During 1991-92 Wałęsa's popularity continued to be challenged by his most powerful opponent in the 1990 presidential elections, Tymiński, whose Party X became a haven for former communists and other Poles who felt the process of reform was going too fast or had gone too far. As the October parliamentary elections neared, Solidarity compiled a list of 237 candidates for the *Sejm* and the Senate and prohibited its candidates from belonging to political parties in an attempt to stay out of party politics and the debate over the government's economic program. The popularity of Bielecki's government eroded as numerous financial scandals came to light.

Barely 40% of Polish voters turned out to vote on October 27 in the country's first fully democratic elections since communist rule. Those who did divided their support fairly evenly among nine leading parties. As a result, there was no clear winner who would command a majority in the new *Sejm*. After a month or so of confusion and behind-the-scenes wrangling, a center-right coalition mustered majorities in both the *Sejm* and the Senate. The five-party coalition put forward as the new Prime Minister Olszewski, who had been known under the communist regime as a defense attorney for political prisoners. He provided legal support for human rights groups during the 1970s and was an advisor to Solidarity in 1980. He entered politics during the 1980s through Solidarity, and in October 1991 was elected to the *Sejm* as a candidate of the Central Alliance. Olszewski initially experienced problems attempting to form a cabinet and threatened to resign. Wałęsa withdrew controversial requests that his presidential powers be increased, and on December 23 the *Sejm* approved Olszewski's cabinet. Olszewski took office cautioning Poles against expectations of an economic "breakthrough," then proved unable to reach agreement with either parliament or Wałęsa over what to do about Poland's still-weak economy. Ultimately, however, it was conflict over the division of powers between the president and the government which finally led Wałęsa to cause Olszewski's downfall. The government of Poland's first woman prime minister, Hanna Suchocka, has had better luck dealing with both the economy and the division of powers issue. The Suchocka government, which took office in July 1992, oversaw the withdrawal of the last Russian combat troops from Poland, the passage of the so-called "Little Constitution" defining the division of powers between the president, the government and parliament, and the final passage of controversial laws on abortion and state control of broadcasting. Suchocka's broad coalition was still holding together

in Spring 1993 despite several serious strikes. In 1992 the issue of former secret police collaborators once again resurfaced, this time touching President Wałęsa's chief advisor and, later, the president himself, who was briefly rumored to have collaborated with the communist security services under the code-name "Bolek." The rumor was never substantiated. During the cabinet crisis of May/June 1992 there were fears that certain elements within the Olszewski administration might be attempting to draw the army into politics on their side, and in September Wałęsa replaced the commanders of the country's military districts. Also politically significant were opinion polls released in February 1992 which showed that the Catholic Church's disapproval rating was lower than its approval rating for the first time ever. Many Poles are alarmed at the Church's influence in politics, which was widely credited with thwarting the efforts of a nationwide movement during 1992 to submit the abortion question to a referendum.

V. ECONOMY

Repeated attempts to reform the Polish economy were made during the period of communist rule. Initially the system was nearly identical to the Stalinist one described in the USSR section of this guide. The Gomułka regime backed off on the collectivization of agriculture in the face of strong peasant opposition. But relatively little was done to alter the economic order until the early seventies. At that time, economic priorities were changed to allocate more resources to the production of food and consumer goods, while new foreign trade policies gave more freedom to Polish exporters and importers. An attempt was made to decentralize the industrial economy by organizing it into industrial combines (WOGS) which were an intermediate level of management between central bureaucracies and individual enterprises. Agriculture received little attention, however, and small farmers continued to be squeezed between frozen prices for farm products and rising prices for machinery, chemicals and other inputs. By 1975, the confusion that reform had caused in the economy forced the government to withdraw most innovations and return to centralized planning.

At about this time Western credits became available, and the Polish government began taking large amounts of them. Unfortunately these credits were wasted on showy projects, subsidies to unproductive firms, and other wasteful endeavors. The resulting debt led the economy into recession and forced the government to decrease spending on domestic consumption while exporting anything marketable to pay off the massive foreign debt. The relative prosperity of the early 1970s gave way to austerity in the late 1970s and early 1980s, which included rationing of food, gasoline, and other consumer goods. By the time Martial Law was declared, the economic collapse had caused a serious decline in the standard of living of most Poles. Reforms which were announced in the late 1980s were met with skepticism by the population. Promised workers' councils were never implemented. Poland continued to mark time by arranging extensions on the repayment of foreign debts and allowing a limited amount of foreign investment.

With the political revolution in 1989 came an economic revolution. Leszek Balcerowicz, Poland's first non-communist Minister of Finance since World War II, implemented a reform plan the goal of which was to transform the Polish economy from a centrally-planned one into a free-market one at a dramatic pace. By January 1990 the currency had been drastically devalued and made domestically convertible, most prices had been freed and most government subsidies to businesses ended. These policies led to a short period of massive inflation, which had levelled out by February 1990.

But the economic "shock therapy" of late 1989 and early 1990 was only the beginning. In December 1990 Poland began "privatizing" some state-owned enterprises, that is, selling them to private owners, including foreign ones. Ironically, while political squabbling has prevented the government from implementing a comprehensive privatization scheme at the national level, over 1,500 enterprises had been privatized by their own managers and employees by the end of 1992. Some have been turned into joint ventures with foreign companies, some have been purchased by their employees and are being run as cooperatives, and others have simply folded and sold off their assets to private businessmen. The state has privatized a handful of large firms by issuing stock on Poland's infant stock market. In January 1993, almost 60% of Poles worked in the private sector.

The first three years of Poland's rapid transformation witnessed drastic declines in GNP and real wages, coupled with high rates of inflation and unemployment. At the beginning of 1993, however, there were signs that the economic slump was nearing its end. Industrial output in the last quarter of 1992 was up 10% over the same period in 1991, and exports were growing. Inflation, which hit almost 600% in 1990, the first year of "shock therapy," had dropped to 45% by 1992 and is projected to be only about 30% in 1993. But unemployment is still high, and while wages are keeping rough pace with prices so far, unfamiliar feelings of uncertainty and insecurity have caused many Poles to become disillusioned with the reform process. There were serious strikes in 1992, including one which shut down virtually all of Silesia's vital coal mines in December 1992 and January 1993. A budget for 1993 was finally passed in February, but only after the IMF put pressure on *Sejm* deputies by briefly suspending talks on its latest agreement with Poland in January.

VI. RELIGION

Poland after World War was suddenly an ethnically and religiously homogenous state. Almost the entire Polish-Jewish population had been destroyed by the Nazi occupiers. Immediately after the war the largely Protestant Germans were expelled from the new western lands, while the old eastern lands, inhabited mostly by Orthodox or Uniate Ukrainians and Belarussians, were incorporated into the Soviet Union. The population that remained was about 95% Roman Catholic, with Poland's other historic faiths - Uniate, Orthodox, Protestant and Jewish - accounting for the small remainder.

Interference from the communist authorities severely constrained the activities of the Catholic Church from the end of World War II until 1956. Polish Primate Stefan Wyszyński led the Church during this difficult period, suffering harassment and even imprisonment in the process. The Church reasserted itself during the in the 1960s, 70s and 80s, particularly after the election of Polish-born Karol Wojtyla to the Papacy as John Paul II in 1978. The Pope consistently encouraged Poles to deny the communist regime influence in the moral and cultural life of Polish society.

Since the fall of communism in 1989 the Church's role in Polish politics has become one of the country's most important political issues. Although the Church has no official position in the state, it wields immense power over public opinion as a result of the moral authority it earned as an anti-communist force, the central position of Catholicism in Polish culture, and the popularity of the Polish-born Pope. The Church's influence over both voters and legislators was instrumental in passing laws reintroducing religion into the state school curriculum and banning elective abortion. The result has been a backlash against the Church. Sixty-seven percent of

those polled in February 1991 thought the Church had too much influence over the government. Two papal visits in summer 1991 were marked by record low turnout to public masses and celebrations. A nationwide petition drive in 1992 failed to convince the *Sejm* to submit the abortion question to a referendum, and many Poles blamed the Church's influence for this failure. Opinion polls in February 1993 showed the Church's disapproval rating higher than its approval rating for the first time ever.

VI. CHRONOLOGY

900-1000		Tribes on Vistula and Oder Rivers united under Piasts, founders of modern Polish state
966		Mieszko I baptized under the Latin rite
1333-1370		Casimir's rule; Poland enjoys great prosperity
1385		Polish-Lithuanian union; Jagiellonian dynasty replaces Piast dynasty
1410		Polish-Lithuanian armies defeat Teutonic Knights at Grunwald
1654-1667		Polish-Lithuanian state embroiled in wars with Sweden and Russia; much territory is lost
1683		King Jan Sobieski leads the battle to save Vienna from the Turks
1772		First Partition of Poland by Austria, Prussia, and Russia
1791		The Constitution of May 3 is ratified by the *Sejm*
1793		The Second partition of Poland by Prussia and Russia
1794		Tadeusz Kościuszko leads an unsuccessful revolt against Russia
1795		Polish state eliminated in the Third Partition
1807		A portion of Poland reestablished as the Duchy of Warsaw by Napoleon
1815		Congress of Vienna creates Polish Kingdom and places it under Russian rule
1830-1831		The January Uprising against Russia is unsuccessful.
1863		The November Uprising against Russia also fails
1914		World War I begins; Poles fight Poles in Prussian, Austrian, and Russian armies
1918		Collapse of Germany and Russia allows reestablishment of independent Poland
1919-21		Polish-Soviet War ends with Polish victory
1926		Józef Piłsudski stages a coup and takes control of Poland
1939	September 1	Nazi Germany attacks Poland
	September 17	Soviet Armies invade Poland
1943	April	Warsaw Ghetto Uprising
	August	Discovery of mass graves of Polish officers in Katyń. All evidence points to the Soviets as the perpetrators, but Stalin denies this
1944	August-Oct.	Warsaw Uprising ends in defeat and the near total destruction of the city
1945	July 22	A Soviet-backed Polish provisional government is set up in Lublin

	August	Polish-Soviet agreements establish Polish western border at Oder-Neisse line
1947	January	Communist Party (PPR) under Bolesław Bierut and Władysław Gomułka wins rigged elections
	July	Poland accepts Marshall Plan aid then rejects it two days later
1948	December	PPR and pre-war socialist party unite to form (communist) Polish United Workers' Party (PUWP); communists propose collectivization and development of heavy industry
1949	January	Former German territories are incorporated into Poland
	November	Gomułka expelled from PUWP, Soviet Marshal Rokossovski becomes Polish Minister of Defense
1950		Germans living in Poland expelled to the West as Poles from eastern territories incorporated into the Soviet Union move to these areas now in Western Poland
1956	February	Gomułka released from prison
	March	Edward Ochab succeeds Bierut as head of PUWP
	June	Strikes in Poznań
	October	Gomułka reinstated as General Secretary of PUWP
1960	January	Gomułka and Polish Primate Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński conclude Church-State agreement
1968	March	Student riots in Warsaw and elsewhere
1970	December	Treaty with Federal Republic of Germany recognizes the Oder-Neisse as Poland's western border; Riots and strikes in major cities protesting price increases and economic reforms result in workers being killed in the port cities of Szczecin and Gdańsk; Edward Gierek replaces Gomułka as Party leader
1971		Gierek announces increase of standard of living as a top priority
1976	June	Riots over food price increases.
	July	Price increases reduced then abolished in response to riots; foreign debt increasing dramatically
1978	October	Polish Cardinal Karol Wojtyła elected Pope, takes the name John Paul II
1979	June	John Paul II visits Poland
1980	July	Increase in meat prices causes protests and strikes across Poland
	August	80,000 workers take over Lenin Shipyards in Gdańsk; Lech Wałęsa heads negotiations for strikers demanding the establishment of a free trade union; Gierek resigns; Party leadership reorganized; Agreement reached on workers' rights to strike and to form independent trade unions
	September	Stanisław Kania named new Party leader; independent trade union Solidarity is formed
	October	Solidarity legalized
	November	Warsaw Pact forces maneuver near Polish border
	December	Meat rationing, austerity plan introduced; strikes called off as Warsaw Pact troops mass on border
1981	February	General Wojciech Jaruzelski named Prime Minister; students form an independent union
	March	Warsaw Pact maneuvers continue; strikes begin anew; US and EEC extend aid to Poland, reschedule Polish debt payments; US issues warning to USSR against interference in Poland
	April	Other Warsaw Pact governments criticize Polish reforms
	September	Strikes continue; government warns of crackdown
	October	Solidarity pleads for unity; Polish army deployed
	November	Strikes end; discussions begin between state and Solidarity
	December	Solidarity makes new demands for free elections, access to media, limiting of planned economy

	December 13	Martial law is declared, Solidarity leaders are interned, strikes are crushed; 11 miners are killed at the Wujek Mine in Silesia
1982	May	30,000 Poles march in Warsaw to protest martial law
	July	Government postpones John Paul II's visit
	October	New laws enacted against Solidarity; US withdraws Most Favored Nation status
	November	Wałęsa released from prison
	December	Martial law suspended, most Solidarity internees are released
1983	January	New official trade unions established
	May	Nationwide demonstrations in support of Solidarity
	June	John Paul II visits and criticizes government
	July	Martial law is lifted, amnesty for political prisoners declared
	October	Wałęsa wins Nobel Peace Prize; rationing continues
1984	October	Roman Catholic priest Father Jerzy Popiełuszko murdered by Polish security forces
1985	January	United States lifts sanctions against Poland citing "general improvement"
	February	4 Polish security forces officers sentenced for Popiełuszko murder
1986	December	Jaruzelski forms consultative council, including the Party, the Church and Solidarity members, to advise government
1987	March	Price increases for consumer goods announced
	June	Pope John Paul II makes third visit to his homeland
	October	New economic and political reforms announced
1989	February	Round Table Talks take place with participation of Party, Solidarity and Church representatives
	June	Elections to newly formed bicameral Parliament results in overwhelming victory of Solidarity-backed candidates
	July	Jaruzelski elected President, resigns as First Secretary of PUWP; Mieczysław Rakowski named First Secretary of PUWP; General Czesław Kiszczak, head of the Security Services through the 1980s is named Prime Minister
	August 17	Kiszczak resigns as Prime Minister
	August 24	Tadeusz Mazowiecki confirmed as the first non-communist Prime Minister in post-war Poland
	September 12	New Polish government formally voted into power; Solidarity holds six ministries (including finance, labor and education), the PUWP maintaining control of Defense, Transport, Foreign Trade, and Internal Affairs where Kiszczak keeps his position
	October 11	Rakowski meets with Gorbachev in Moscow, Gorbachev calls the changes in Poland "historically justified"
	November 23	Mazowiecki visits Moscow where he receives support of Gorbachev for successful reforms
	December 11	Złoty devalued for the 19th time in 1989
	December 28	Parliament changes name of country from "Polish People's Republic" to pre-World War II form, "Polish Republic"
1990	January 1	Poland switches to a market economy, massive price increases; złoty becomes convertible at 9500 to $1.00
	January 6	PUWP Central Committee meets and agrees to disbandment
	January 27-28	PUWP 11th Party Congress votes to disband in recognition of the fact that it had no hope of gaining public confidence; Social Democracy for the Republic of Poland (SDRP) is formed endorsing a market economy with an element of state ownership and a welfare system, Leszek Miller elected Secretary General; SDRP claims PUWP assets; Social Democratic Union of the Polish Republic (SDUPR) is formed under the leadership of Tadeusz Fiszbach
	February 5	International Monetary Fund approves loans for Poland
	February 6	The World Bank approves loans for Poland

	February 16	The Paris Club agrees to reschedule Poland's debt
	February 24	PUWP turns over 1600 buildings and offices to the State
	March 2	USSR reschedules Poland's debt
	March 8	Solidarity activist Krzysztof Kozlowski named as Deputy Minister of Internal Affairs, ending the former communist party's rule over that key ministry.
	March 14	As a result of pressure by the Poles, the four World War II allies and the two Germanies agree to Poland taking part in discussions regarding reunification (referred to as 4+1)
	March 17	Wałęsa meets Václav Havel at the Polish-Czech border
	March 20-26	Mazowiecki visits the United States; an economic agreement aimed at encouraging US investment in Poland is signed
	March 22	The Polish *Sejm* recognizes a free Lithuania; Solidarity presses the government for swifter action towards privatization, and minimum wage increases
	April 12	Jaruzelski visits Moscow; TASS announces that the Polish officers in Katyń were murdered by Stalin's forces
		The Second Solidarity Congress opens - Solidarity's first since re-legalization in 1989
		The *Sejm* passes a law abolishing censorship
	May	Rail and transit workers stage widespread strikes over pay issues
		Local government elections are held; only 42.3% of eligible voters turn out - 42% of seats are won by Solidarity.
		Unemployment climbs to 443,000, or 3.3%.
	June	700 farmers protesting in the Ministry of Agriculture to demand guaranteed minimum prices on their products are evicted by police.
	July	Senate and *Sejm* approve privatization bills; privatization of the first dozen firms begins.
		Unemployment rises to 700,000, over 5%
	August	Extracurricular religious education reintroduced in the schools
		"Trezor," the first private department store in Warsaw, opens for business
		The World Bank approves a $300,000,000 loan to help Poland build a market economy
	October	Six candidates register for the November 25th presidential election, including Lech Wałęsa, Tadeusz Mazowiecki and Stanisław Tymiński
	November	Unemployment surpasses one million, reaching 1,008,416, or 7.5%
		First round of Polish-Soviet negotiations on troop withdrawals are held - Poland demands a treaty guaranteeing withdrawal by the end of 1991
	November 25	First round of presidential elections is held: Lech Wałęsa receives 40% of the vote, Polish-Canadian millionaire Stanisław Tymiński receives 23%, and Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki receives 18%
		Mazowiecki resigns as Prime Minister
	December	Second round, or runoff, of presidential elections is held - Wałęsa v. Tymiński. Wałęsa wins with 74% of the vote
		The selling of shares in the first state firms chosen for privatization begins
		General Wojciech Jaruzelski issues a public apology to the Polish people for wrongs committed under Communism
	December 22	Wałęsa is sworn in as president; presidential insignia are returned by the London government in exile and presented to Wałęsa
1991	January	The Main Statistical Office announced that inflation in 1990 reached around 250%; unemployment reached 8.2%, and GNP dropped 13-15%
		Jan Krzysztof Bielecki is confirmed as Prime Minister
	February	Lech Wałęsa visits the Pope in Rome. The *Sejm* sets the next Parliamentary elections for October 30, 1991. The Paris Club agrees to forego at least half of Poland's $33.5 billion debt to Western governments; Wałęsa visits Bush at the White House. The United States announces it is forgiving 70% of Poland's $3.6 billion debt to the US
	April	Withdrawal of some Soviet troops begins; Polish stock market opens
		IMF agrees to issue $2.48 billion in loans
	May 3	200th Anniversary of the May 3, 1791 Polish Constitution celebrated in civic and church venues

	May	Government wins a vote of confidence as the *Sejm* rejects a motion of no-confidence in the Bielecki government. A 10-day Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) symposium on international cooperation in preserving the common cultural heritage was held in Cracow.
	June	The Pope visits Poland - appeals for the renewal of Christian beliefs Wałęsa demands that parliament grant the government special powers to issue economic decrees in order to quicken the pace of reform (put on hold in July) The World Bank supports economic reforms by granting $680 million in loans *Sejm* passes foreign investment legislation
	June 17	Poland and Germany sign a treaty of good neighborly relations and friendly cooperation
	July 3	Wałęsa approves electoral law (after several vetoes); sets free parliamentary elections for October 27, 1991
	July	Announcement that 400 state-owned firms to be privatized by the end of 1991 using vouchers
	July 27	Poland joins the Pentagonal Group that contributes to the workings of the CSCE
	August	Poland backs Lithuanian independence
	August 13	Pope John Paul II visits Poland for 3 days for youth festival
	August	5,000workers hold a week-long strike demanding measures to minimize unemployment and save their enterprise from bankruptcy. 65 parties register for October elections; Wałęsa urges faster European Community (EC) association
	August 27	Poland resumes diplomatic relations with the Baltic States
	August 30	Government resigns; *Sejm* rejects the resignation; triumph for government reopens debate on special powers for the government
	September	Poland abolishes visa requirements; signs economic pact with Russia; unemployment nears 10%; the *Sejm* refuses to grant special powers to push through economic reform to the Bielecki government; Polish Cardinal Glemp visits the US; tensions between Poland and Lithuania escalates over the treatment of Polish minorities in Lithuania; IMF suspends Polish credit
	October 6	Polish, Hungarian and Czechoslovak leaders meet in Cracow to confirm their intention to join European political and economic institutions
	October 14	Polish złoty to be devalued by nine złoty to the dollar every day from this day until the devaluation reaches 6% against the dollar by the end of 1991
	October	Tymiński leaves Poland as Party X is not allowed to run a full list of candidates because of alleged electoral fraud; state farms abolished; nine state-owned banks become joint stock companies ready for privatization
	October 27	First free parliamentary elections; no single party receives more than 13% of the vote; the Democratic Union wins 50 seats, the same number as the Democratic Left Alliance (in a 460-seat *Sejm*); 40% voter turn-out
	November	Negotiations on the formation of a new government reach a stalemate; Bielecki government resigns on November 25 during the first session of the new parliament; center-right coalition musters majorities in both the *Sejm* and the Senate
	December 5	Wałęsa names Jan Olszewski, the candidate of the five-party coalition, as Prime Minister; the *Sejm* approves his cabinet on December 23
	December 20	Poland recognizes Ukraine as well as all former republics of the Soviet Union as independent states; Liberal Democrats leave the coalition
1992	January 1-7	*Sejm* approves Olszewski cabinet
	January 13	80% of Solidarity Trade Union branches stage on hour strike; Poland and Lithuania sign a declaration of friendship and good-neighborly relations
	January 16	Poland and Germany each ratified documents on the general and border treaties
	January 17	As the Polish government faces crisis, Wałęsa invited two former Prime Ministers - Mazowiecki and Bielecki - to serve as presidential advisors
	January 20	Several local prosecutors try to block the sale of the first Polish edition of Hitler's *Mein Kampf*
	February 7	*Sejm* passes a resolution declaring the decision to impose Martial Law in 1981 illegal

February 9	Prime Minister Olszewski, speaking at the shipyard where Solidarity was born, says it was a mistake to assume that all the achievements of the state-owned sector should be scrapped
March 14	Poland gives Belarus access to the Polish seaport of Gdynia
March 25	Roman Catholic church in Poland restructured
April 13	Prime Minister Olszewski visits the US
April 14	Education Minister Stelmachowski signs a bill introducing two hours per week of religious instruction into the state school curriculum; grades for religion will not appear on transcripts and the classes will not be compulsory
May 8	Wałęsa asks *Sejm* for special powers to stabilize the economic and political situation in the country
May 12	Ombudsman Tadeusz Zielinski asks prosecutor's office to indict a Warsaw hospital administrator who refused a woman an abortion
May 28	*Sejm* orders Interior Ministry to supply it with information on Poles who collaborated with the secret police during the 1945-1990 period; opponents of this so-called screening law ask the Constitutional Tribunal to review it
May 29	Olszewski government falls
June 4	Interior Ministry delivers a list of names to parliament, but says this is only a list of persons about whom the Ministry has information available, and not necessarily a list of secret police collaborators
June 11-14	Wałęsa is attacked at the 4th Congress of Solidarity for allegedly having collaborated with the secret police; he attends the congress, bringing documents which he says exonerate him
June 13	Commander of the army units in the capital says the head of the State Defense Office ordered him to place his troops on heightened alert during the cabinet crisis of late May and early June
June 19	Constitutional Tribunal rules the May 28 screening law unconstitutional
July 10	Hanna Suchocka approved as Prime Minister by parliament after Waldemar Pawlak is unable to form a government
August 1	Parliament passes the so-called "Little Constitution," which defines the division of powers between parliament, the government and the president
August 18	Second World Congress of Poles is held in Cracow (the first was in 1934)
September 1-2	Former communist Prime Minister (1970-1980) Piotr Jaroszewicz and his wife are found murdered in their suburban Warsaw home
September 4	Wałęsa appoints new commanders for the country's military districts; during the cabinet crisis earlier in the year there were repeated charges by the opposition that some members of the government were trying to bring the army into the political battle
September 9	Government presents draft of so-called "state enterprises pact" to trade unions; the pact will regulate relations between the state and workers in state-owned enterprises
October 1	One of the three German truck drivers assaulted by Polish skinheads near Nowa Huta dies
October 7	Prime Minister Suchocka informs NATO that it is Poland's intention to join within 5 years. Constitutional Tribunal declines to rule on the new Code of Medical Ethics passed by the Polish Medical Association; the code forbids doctors to perform abortions, effectively making abortion unavailable in Poland even though it is still allowed by law
October 14	Envoy from Russian President Yeltsin gives Wałęsa a copy of the order signed by Stalin condemning Polish POWs to death during World War II
October 15	Parliament creates a nine-member commission to oversee broadcasting in Poland; a motion to include in the law a requirement that the commission protect "Christian values" is rejected by one vote
October 16	Fiat buys 90 percent of the Polish car company FSM; this is the second largest privatization deal in Eastern Europe so far and the largest in Poland
October 28	The last Russian combat troops leave Poland after a 40-year occupation
November 2	Wałęsa sends special envoy to Russia to seek access to documents on Polish-Soviet relations in Soviet archives

	November 17	Wałęsa ratifies the so-called "Little Constitution,"
	December 8	The "Little Constitution" takes effect
	December 14	General strike begins in Silesian coal mines; most mines eventually join
	December 29	Parliament adds the "Christian values" amendment to the Broadcasting Law
1993	January 4	Mine strike suspended after negotiations with government
	January 7	Despite popular opposition and a nationwide campaign to put the issue to a referendum, parliament passes a law making abortion illegal except in cases of grave fetal deformity, or when the pregnancy is a threat to the mother's health or the result of a crime
	January 13	IMF delays final approval of latest agreement with Poland because of concerns over the 1993 budget
	January 21	Wałęsa presents a draft of the Charter of Rights and Freedoms to the *Sejm*
	January 25	Bilateral military accord signed with Germany
	February 5	Defense Ministry announces Poland will take part in NATO's Baltic naval maneuvers in June
	February 8	Opinion polls show the Church's disapproval rating (46 percent) higher than its approval rating (41 percent) for the first time ever
	February 12	*Sejm* passes 1993 budget
	February 15	Wałęsa signs abortion law
	February 17	Silesian miners back on strike; Wałęsa says he will veto 1993 budget if miners' grievances are not addressed

Two excellent programs on the history of Poland are available from IU sources. The IU Audio-Visual Center (in Indiana 1-800-942-0481and out-of-state 1-800-552-8620)has available for rent the nine-part PBS series "The Struggles for Poland." The Indiana University Polish Studies Center has the four part video series "Poland: 1000 Years of History and Culture" The Polish Studies Center also has slide programs, audio cassette tapes and videotapes available for free loan. For a copy of their audio-visual guide write to IU Polish Studies Center, Memorial Hall W002, Bloomington, IN 47405. (812) 855-8119.

ROMANIA

Area: 91,699 sq. miles
Population: 23.4 million
Capital: Bucharest
Language: Romanian
Religion: Orthodoxy
Unit of Currency: Leu
GDP per Capita: US$3,000

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I. ALPHABET AND LANGUAGES

The language of Serbia and Montenegro is now officially Serbian. It is written in the cyrillic script. There are two variants spoken: ekavian is spoken in Serbia; ijekavian is spoken exclusively in Montenegro as well as in parts of Serbia. There are significant Albanian and Hungarian populations in Serbia and Montenegro; they speak their own languages, as do the smaller Romanian, Bulgarian, Slovak, Ukrainian, and Croatian populations. For a guide to Serbo-Croatian pronunciation see Bosnia and Hercegovina.

II. GEOGRAPHY

Although the republics of the former Yugoslavia have been at war for nearly two years, the geographical limits of Serbia and Montenegro, as recognized in current international law, have not changed during that time. Serbia today encompasses the area from the Hungarian border in the north to the Macedonian border in the south, with Romania on the east and Montenegro and Bosnia on the west. Until 1989, the provinces of Kosovo and Vojvodina enjoyed significant autonomy; in 1989, however, they were reintegrated into Serbia. Now they enjoy no self-rule, in spite of the fact that Vojvodina has a large Hungarian population and Kosovo is solidly Albanian.

The Serbian state began as an autonomous principality within the Ottoman Empire in 1815. It then included only the pasalik of Belgrade. In 1830, it expanded to include a surrounding strip of territory to the south. In 1878, it extended its control further south, annexing the Niš-Pirot-Vranje triangle and became an independent kingdom. Following the Balkan Wars in 1912-13, Serbia incorporated Kosovo and Macedonia. After the First World War, the region we know as Vojvodina was annexed, which gave Serbia its final borders.

Montenegro is a small mountain region inhabited by Serbs that maintained its de-facto autonomy from the Ottoman Empire throughout its history. In 1913, it achieved its present borders after the two Balkan Wars, when it annexed parts of the Sandžak of Novi Pazar.

Major rivers in Serbia include the Sava, the Danube, the Morava, the Ibar, and the Drina, which borders Bosnia. Rivers in Montenegro include the Tara and the Morača. Montenegro is solidly mountainous, whereas Serbia has mountainous areas as well as low hills and central Morava River valley. Whereas Serbia has a fairly rolling landscape amenable to farming and animal husbandry, Montenegro is so inaccessible that only small, tribally-organized groups were able to survive; much of the land is still very backward. Serbia has many mines with relatively prosperous mineral deposits. Neither country is fertile enough to support itself agriculturally.

III. HISTORY

Medieval history. The Serbs were subjects of the Byzantine Empire until 1219, when they formed an independent state. Between 1331 and 1355, Tsar Stephen Dušan conquered Macedonia, Thessaly, Epirus, and much of Albania. At the battle of Kosovo in 1389, the

Ottoman Turks defeated the Serbs and their allies, marking the beginning of the end of the Serbian Empire, which lasted until the early fifteenth century. Montenegro came under Ottoman governance in 1514, but they were able to retain much of their autonomy due to the impossibility of controlling them in their mountainous homeland.

National revival. Between 1804 and 1815, Serbian insurrections (led by Djordje Petrović, known as Karadjordje) brought the region around Belgrade a level of autonomy under Prince Miloš Obrenović. In 1878, the Serbian principality was granted independence in the Treaty of Berlin. With the exception of one decade, Serbia was governed by the Obrenovićes until 1903, when a palace coup brought Petar Karadjordjević to the throne. Between 1903 and 1914, Serbia laid the foundations of a democratic government (a constitutional monarchy under the Karadjordjević dynasty) and prepared for the conquests that would bring all Serbs into the state (Serbs lived in other regions of the Ottoman Empire--Kosovo, Bosnia and Hercegovina--as well as in Croatia and Hungary). The two Balkan Wars brought many of their brethren to the south into the state; after the First World War, Croatia, Bosnia, and Slovenia would join Serbia in the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes.

The First World War itself was provoked by the assassination of the Archduke Franz Ferdinand of Austria-Hungary by Gavrilo Princip, a young Serbian nationalist from Bosnia. As a result of the assassination, Austria-Hungary declared war on Serbia in July 1914. During the war, Serbia lobbied for the annexation of the Serbian areas of Croatia and Bosnia to join Serbia; under pressure from influential Croatian emigre groups abroad, the Serbian government eventually conceded that it should attempt to unite all Southern Slavs in one state--Yugoslavia. At war's end, Serbia sat on the victorious side and was able, albeit without much enthusiasm, to unite Croatia, Slovenia, parts of Hungary, and Bosnia in a single state.

The Yugoslav State. From 1918 to 1941, Yugoslavia, a state that brought Serbs, Croats, Slovenes, Muslims, and many other national groups together, was governed by the Serbian Karadjordjević monarchy. Few of the non-Serbian peoples were happy with the form of government that they received after the First World War. The result was that during the Second World War, most of the non-Serbs fought against the return of the dynasty. The Independent State of Croatia instituted policies designed to exterminate the Serbs and Gypsies within its borders; the communists under Josip Broz (Tito) fought the royalist Serbs (known as Četniks) to assure that the dynasty would not return. Altogether, the war became a civil war in which everyone got revenge on everyone else. The Serbs suffered to a great degree, probably as a result of the poor governance of the Karadjordjevićes in the interwar period. Nonetheless, at the end of the war, they had to face the fact that much of the wartime violence was a result of the form of government that Yugoslavia had during the interwar period.

After 1945, Yugoslavia became a communist state. Serbs and Montenegrins still retained much of the control of the state, as they were over-represented in the bureaucracy and the military. However, they were extremely displeased with their position in Yugoslavia, because Kosovo, Vojvodina, and Macedonia had been trimmed from their territory. After Tito died in 1980, Serbs began to question their position in the state and adamantly demanded a revision of borders that

would bring Kosovo and Vojvodina back into the republic of Serbia. The tension that these demands prompted eventually led to the wars of Slovenian, Croatian, and Bosnian independence in 1991-93.

(Also, SEE HISTORY OF YUGOSLAVIA for a continuation)

IV. GOVERNMENT, POLITICS AND ECONOMY

The Breakup of Yugoslavia. From the Serbian perspective, Croatia, Slovenia, and Bosnia had no legal right to leave Yugoslavia without taking the wishes of their Serbian populations into account. This reproach had no application in the Slovenian case, since the Serbian population there is negligible. However, in Croatia and Bosnia, whose populations of Serbs are 11 percent and 31 percent, respectively, the Serbian opposition to separation had fatal consequences. The Yugoslav People's Army and the federal government, which were both essentially controlled by Serbia, have now fought one war each in Croatia and Bosnia in order to unite the Serbs of those regions either with Serbia, or in new compact Serbian states. This process will result, they hope, in the formation of a Great Serbia.

The idea of Great Serbia is part and parcel of the Serbian national mythology, which is extremely exclusive, usually defining Serbian-ness as belonging to the Serbian Orthodox faith; in addition, a strong element of historical hatred for Islam pervades the ideology. Thus, although the current war was certainly sparked by the methods of the Milošević government, it also has roots in the historical conflict between Serb and Muslim. That conflict has been immortalized in Serbian epic poetry, which, as in the case of Petar Petrović Njegoš, often glorified the reconquest of Serbian lands and peoples from the Muslims.

Currently, Serbia and Montenegro comprise "rump" Yugoslavia--those regions that did not declare independence. The current leaders insist that this state is the legal continuation of the former Yugoslavia, although on occasion Montenegrin leaders have suggested that they may wish to separate from Serbia. In addition, Serbia has adopted policies designed to "Serbianize" Yugoslavia--the Serbian language has been made official in all areas, including Kosovo, where Albanian has been made illegal as a language for public use. Hungarian is similarly treated in the Vojvodina.

There have been United Nations reports of Serbian refugees from Croatia and Bosnia being settled in the non-Serb areas of the Vojvodina, causing more than 30,000 Hungarians to flee to Hungary and more than 12,000 Croats to flee to Croatia. Ukrainians and Ruthenians living on both sides of the Danube have also been forcibly expelled from their homes.

Economics. The economic embargo on Serbia and Montenegro has devastated the economy, causing hyperinflation and a shortage of many basic goods. Pensioners have been hit particularly hard. In the beginning of March a director of one of Serbia's largest banks fled the country, reportedly taking bank deposits with him, increasing the hardships of those who had their money

deposited in the bank. The Serbian government, in an attempt to find a scapegoat for the economic difficulties, has launched a crackdown on crime (the government has also cited various international conspiracy theories aimed against the Serbian nation). Inflation in 1992 reached 25,000 percent, unemployment reached about 40 percent and the average monthly wage dropped to $50 from $500 a year ago.

Government. Yugoslavia has a president (Dobrica Ćosić, a Serbian writer) and a federal assembly; Serbia and Montenegro each have their own assemblies and presidents (Slobodan Milošević and Momir Bulatović, respectively). The country has held multiparty elections since 1990, although their fairness has been questioned within and without the state. The main parties include the Serbian Renewal Movement of Vuk Drašković, the Serbian Radical party of Vojislav Šešelj, and the Democratic party, led by university professors including Kosta Čavoski and Radoslav Stojanović. Milošević's Serbian Socialist party has consistently won elections, although this is probably because it inherited the control of the media and bureaucracy that it enjoyed when it was know as the League of Communists of Serbia.

V. RELIGION

From the founding of the state in 1169, Orthodoxy has played an important role in Serbian life. The founder of the state, Nemanja, retired to a monastery after his reign and one of his sons became the first Archbishop of the Serbian Orthodox Church.

During the years of Ottoman rule the Church also played an important role. The Ottomans ruled through the local churches (the millet system) and the Orthodox Church became a protector of Serbian culture.

In the 19th century in the struggle for a Serbian state it was of historical significance when the Serbs revived their own Patriarchate, which had been closed by the Turks and usurped by the Greeks from the late 15th through the 18th centuries. In addition to its religious functions the Serbian Orthodox Church served as the cultural respository of the Serbian people and most of the scholars responsible for the Serbian national revival in the 19th century were trained as monks.

HISTORY OF YUGOSLAVIA

Independence. After Austria annexed Bosnia and Hercegovina in 1908 as an attempt to halt Serbian expansion, the Balkan Slavs formed an alliance with Greece to expel both the Turks and Austrians and divide up the remaining land. Bulgaria, Serbia, Montenegro, and Greece joined the Balkan League and in 1912 defeated the Turks in the First Balkan War. Largely because of disputes over territory, the Second Balkan War (joined by Romania and Turkey) broke out in 1913 against Bulgaria. Serbia claimed much of contested Macedonia in these wars.

World War I. On June 28, 1914, the assassination of Austrian Archduke Franz Ferdinand in Sarajevo by a Bosnian-Serb nationalist was the catalyst to the start of World War I. The Serbs had hoped to create a Greater Serbian nation. Both Serbs and Croats in the Habsburg Empire fought against the independent Serbs. Serbia and Montenegro surrendered in 1915 to the Bulgarians and the Austrians. The Yugoslav Committee, a group of London-based exiles from the empire who wanted the unification of South Slavs under a single state, and representatives of the Serbian government reached an agreement in 1917 stating that the South Slav lands within the Habsburg Empire would join with Serbia to form a nation under the Karadjordjević dynasty. The proclamation of this union was declared on December 1, 1918.

The Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes. The first attempt at unification was unsuccessful mainly because the leaders had never discussed whether the new state would have a centralized or federal administration. The Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes was consequently based on a centralized Serbian administration that wanted to extend Serbian rule, while the other nationalities wanted a decentralized state that left the republics autonomous in internal affairs. In 1929, the national conflicts prompted King Alexander to overthrow the constitutional government and establish a royal dictatorship. His assassination by nationalists in 1934 symbolized the continual decay of the empire and the rise of nationalist groups such as the Croatian Ustaša and the Serbian Zbor until the outbreak of World War II.

World War II. Germany invaded Yugoslavia in April 1941. The Germans set up quasi-independent states in Croatia led by Ante Pavelić of the Ustaša and in Serbia under Milan Nedić. Germany, Italy, Bulgaria, and Hungary divided up the remainder of Yugoslavia. The Croatian Ustaša government cooperated closely with Nazi Germany in deporting Croatia's Jews and Gypsies to concentration camps and in fighting non-Croatian insurgents. The Ustaša also took it upon themselves to forcibly convert Orthodox Serbs in Croatia to Roman Catholicism. Two anti-Axis guerilla groups emerged: the Serbian Četniks, who were also pro-monarchy and anti-communist, led by Draža Mihailović and the Communist Partisans led by Josip Broz Tito. This situation led to civil war in which an estimated 1.9 million people died by the end of 1945. The Allied forces switched support from the Četniks to the Partisans in 1943, and consequently the Partisans won the war and eventually eliminated their internal rivals for power.

Tito's Yugoslavia. Tito hoped to establish a state that secured unity and brotherhood based on the ideas of federalism and socialism. The Partisans kept control of the country during and after the war and maintained close relations with the Soviet Union. Tito took independent stands on

domestic and foreign policies that came into conflict with the Soviet Union. Stalin also tended not to treat Tito as an equal but as a subordinate. Further conflicts resulted in a complete break with the USSR in 1948 when Yugoslavia was expelled from the Cominform. The Yugoslavs subsequently developed their own theory of a "separate road to socialism" and began to decentralize the government in the 1950s. The unique theory of self-management emphasized the worker management of industry and social institutions, autonomous enterprises, use of the market, and worker dictated wages. The period from 1953-63 saw an economic growth rate second only to Japan, the creation of institutions of self-government and autonomy, expansion of the education system, and a modernization of underdeveloped areas.

In the 1960s, however, conflicts arose over investment and the delegation of power among the federal government, the republics, communes, and enterprises. Large amounts of money were taken from the northern, more prosperous republics, and invested in the southern republics in the hope that they would become economically self-sufficient. The liberal communists wanted a decentralized government with power residing with the republics, while conservatives wanted power in Belgrade. The conflict was also based on nationalist complaints. The initial defeat of the conservatives was symbolized by the economic reforms of 1963 and the fall of the head of the secret police, Alexander Ranković, in 1966. The Croats, however, continued to demand the right to keep a higher share of the foreign currency received in their republic instead of sending it to the underdeveloped southern republics. They also insisted that the Croatian language be separated from the Serbian. Continued instances of nationalism forced Tito to step in and purge the Croatian Communist Party, among other organizations, of nationalists in December 1971.

Yugoslavia 1980 - 1991. After the death of Tito in 1980, national conflicts have continued. Riots broke out in the Kosovo province in 1981 and grew in intensity through 1988-90. The Albanians, who make up more than 90 percent of the population in Kosovo, demanded greater autonomy within the Serbian republic. In 1990 the Serbs, however, passed constitutional amendments that greatly reduced any Albanian autonomous rights. Although the Albanians have inhabited the region of Kosovo several hundred years longer than the Slavs, the Serbs claim that since the area was the seat of Tsar Dušan's empire and it must continue to be Serbian-dominated. Another problem was the rotating presidency that went into effect after Tito's death in 1980 (to be discussed in the following section). Decision-making in the second half of the 1980s all but ground to a halt as national rivalries surfaced once again. In 1990 all of the republics held elections to break Communist and Serbian economic and political control. After almost two years of calls for greater autonomy, in June 1991 Slovenia and Croatia declared their independence.

IV. GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS

1970-1991. In 1970, a constitutional amendment formally allocated prime sovereignty to the six republics and two autonomous regions. The federal powers were limited to foreign policy, national defense, common monetary and trade policies, and protection of ethnic and individual rights. This significantly altered the structure of government. Power now resided with the regional leadership and not with the national communist party.

The leadership of the country was further altered in 1978 when the "standing rules" for collective leadership were published. Tito realized that a correct ethnic balance was needed in the leadership to ensure that no single nationality would gain excessive power. The constitution was altered to provide for a collective, rotating system of leadership after his death. When he died in 1980 the presidents of the state and of the Yugoslav Party rotated annually on a republic-by-republic basis, but all eight members of the state presidency voted on major issues. The system was a complete disaster. A one-year presidential term was not enough time to carry out even the most modest program. In addition, all significant decisions needed a unanimous vote of the collective state presidency, a stipulation that basically halted the government since any member could veto a proposal. On more minor decisions, a tie could not be broken because there were only eight members of the presidency. By 1989, Slobodan Milosević, head of Serbia, had gained control of the governments in Montenegro, Vojvodina and Kosovo, effectively giving Serbia the presidency four out of every eight years. Slovenia and Croatia slowly drifted away from the federal government and began the process of independence.

In April 1990, the first multi-party elections in 45 years were held in Croatia and Slovenia. Franjo Tudjman, a former general in the Yugoslav People's Army and president of the Croatian Democratic Community, was elected president of Croatia. In Slovenia, Milan Kučan, leader of the Party of Democratic Renewal, the successor party to the League of Communist Yugoslavs in Slovenia, was elected president. In December 1990, Slobodan Milošević, president of the Serbian Socialist Party, the successor party to the League of Communist Yugoslavs in Serbia, was elected president of Serbia. All of these presidents sought to increase the power of their own republics at the expense of federal Yugoslavia, making by 1991 cooperation and coordination between republics and on the rotating State Presidency and exasperating already tense inter-ethnic relations. On June 25, Slovenia and Croatia declared independence.

V. ECONOMY

The self-management system described above has been altered significantly due both to weaknesses in its operation and ethnic conflicts. The primary change began in 1960 with a debate on investment, income distribution and whether power should lie with the federal government, the republics, communes, or enterprises. The liberals, chiefly from economically advanced republics, argued for decentralization from the center, due to widespread resentment in those areas to high financial contributions to the center being redistributed to the southern republics. The conservatives from the south argued that centrally directed investment and subsidization of new industry and economic infrastructure in the south was necessary until a level of economic self-sufficiency was reached. These debates resulted in the 1963-66 reforms allocating more power to local enterprises that would rely on basically free market economics.

By the 1970s the financial situation weakened as the state's sources of income were further limited. In 1976, problems with the system convinced leaders to further alter it to put management of enterprises in the hands of the workers. The goal was to break the hold managers had on the system of production. The actual result was the deterioration of the economy to even worse levels than previously experienced. By the end of 1989, the national debt

had exceeded $19 billion and the annual inflation rate was 2600%.

In 1990 and early 1991, economic integration between republics had deteriorated to a point of non-existence, plunging industrial output to record lows. In the first eight months of 1991, industrial production had fallen 23.8% compared with the same period in 1990 and GNP dropped some 35% in 1991; Croatia and Slovenia normally accounted for some 45% of Yugoslavia's GNP. By fall 1991, the war in Croatia had cost the Yugoslav economy an estimated $25 billion in damages and lost revenues. Foreign currency reserves had dropped from $10 billion in 1990 to $3.5 billion in September 1991. In order to finance the war, by September 1991 the federal government had drawn $12.5 billion from private saving deposits but said it would offer shares in banks or firms to compensate depositors. By the end of 1991, the rate of inflation for Yugoslavia as a whole had exceeded 1,000%, with almost 40% of Yugoslavs living at or below and subsistence level; almost 60% of Yugoslav firms reported losses in 1991.

VI. RELIGION

See each country section for a description of religious life.

VII. SOUTH SLAV CHRONOLOGY

The chronologies for Bosnia and Hercegovina, Croatia, Macedonia, Slovenia, and Serbia and Montenegro are combined due to their shared history, particularly in regard to twentieth century events.

400-600	Slavic tribes migrate into Balkans
800-1000	Slavs converted to Christianity, practicing both Roman and Byzantine rites
1102	Croatian Kingdom accepts Hungarian king
1169-89	Štefan Nemanja establishes Serbian kingdom
1331-55	Tsar Štefan Dušan extends empire to encompass Albania, Macedonia, and most of Adriatic and Ionian coasts; capital is moved to Ohrid
1389	Serbian Empire defeated by Ottomans at Battle of Kosovo
1527	Croatian Sabor elects Ferdinand of Habsburg as king
1573	Peasant uprising in Slovenia and Croatia near Zagreb under Matija Gubec
1779	Montenegrins gain Turkish recognition of independence
1804-13	Serbs under Karadjordje unsuccessfully revolt against Ottomans
1815-30	Serbs revolt again and gain autonomy within Ottoman Empire
1856	Russian defeat in Crimean War places Serbia under control of Great Powers' collective protection
1878-88	Turks defeated; Serbia gains total independence; Bosnia and Hercegovina occupied by Austria-Hungary
1908	Bosnia and Hercegovina annexed by Austria-Hungary
1912	First Balkan War--Serbia, Montenegro, Greece, and Bulgaria join league against Ottoman Empire; Turks lose
1913	Second Balkan War--League attacks Bulgaria, Serbia takes Macedonia
1914	Assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand by Bosnian Gavrilo Princip is catalyst to start of World War I
1918	United Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes proclaimed; composed of Bosnia and Hercegovina, Croatia, Slovenia, Serbia, Macedonia, and Montenegro
1928	Croat Stjepan Radić assassinated in Parliament by Serbian nationalist
1929	King Alexander suspends constitution; Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes changes

		name to Kingdom of Yugoslavia
1934		Yugoslavia joins Romania and Germany in Balkan mutual non-aggression pact; King Alexander is assassinated
1941		Yugoslavia is occupied by Axis powers; Croatian fascist state and Serbian rump state formed
1943		Allies switch support from Četniks to Partisans
1944		Soviet Army enters Belgrade; Communist-controlled elections are held and a Soviet-type constitution establishes the Yugoslav federation of six republics. Tito becomes Prime Minister
1945	April	20 year friendship and mutual assistance treaty signed with USSR
	October	Opposition leaders resign from Yugoslav cabinet
	November	Tito's National Front wins election boycotted by opposition, receiving 90% of vote
1948	March	Soviet-Yugoslav dispute erupts
	June	Soviets denounce Tito for "nationalist deviations"; Yugoslavia expelled from Cominform
1949	September	Soviets denounce friendship treaty with Yugoslavia, other East European nations follow suit
1950	June	Workers' councils established
1951	April	Yugoslav government decentralized and reformed
	May	Compulsory food deliveries abolished; farmers allowed to sell on free market
1953		Tito becomes President
	November	Yugoslav ambassadors return to Bulgaria and Hungary
	December	Relations with Albania are restored
1954	June	Diplomatic relations with Romania restored
	August	Joins Balkan Pact with Greece and Turkey
1955	May	Khrushchev visits Yugoslavia; relations are normalized
		Tito, along with Nasser, Nehru, Nkhruma, and Sukarno, found the Nonaligned Movement
1957	October	Djilas expelled after publishing *New Class* and criticizing Tito
	November	Yugoslavia does not attend Moscow meeting of Communist parties
1958	April	New Yugoslav party program approved; criticized by Soviets as "revisionist"
1963	April	New constitution replaces 1946 constitution
1964	March	US grants Most Favored Nation status
1966	July	Interior Minister Ranković and followers removed from government
	October	Reorganization of Yugoslav League of Communists
1970	April	Croatian nationalists assassinate Yugoslav ambassador to Sweden

1971		Tito establishes collective leadership system with rotating posts
	December	Croatian nationalist riots lead to resignation of top Croatian leaders
1972		Expulsion of Croatian nationalists from throughout Party and government
1973	February	4th Yugoslav constitution since World War II gives greater power to workers through factory councils
	October	Agreement with USSR on industrial cooperation, non-interference in internal affairs
1979		Rotating leadership system is extended to the Communist party leadership
1980	April	Yugoslavia signs trade agreement with European Economic Community
		Tito dies; authority is invested in a collective state presidency and party presidium
1981	March	State of emergency declared in Kosovo due to rioting for ethnic rights
	April	Albanian separatist riots are put down, 9 dead and 250 wounded; Yugoslav embassy in Albania is bombed
	August	Albanians expelled from Yugoslav Communist Party
1986		Radical nationalist Slobodan Milošević becomes leader of Serbian Communist Party
1987	February	Federal militia units stationed in Kosovo
1988	Summer	Serbian constitutional amendments limit the autonomy of Kosovo and Vojvodina as laid down in 1974
	October	Street pressure leads to overthrow of Vojvodina's government
1989	January	Ante Marković, a Croat, is elected new Prime Minister
	February	Strikes and violent repression leave 31 dead in Kosovo
	June	One million Serbs commemorate the 600 year anniversary of the defeat of the Serbs by the Ottomans at the Battle of Kosovo
	October	Slovenian National Assembly approves 54 amendments to its republic's constitution; most important is the republic's right to self-determination
1990	January	Slovene delegation walks out of plenary session of 14th Extraordinary Congress of the LCY; Slovenia and Croatia call for a multiparty system and a loose confederation
	February	Yugoslav's People Army deployed to Kosovo; The communist parties of Slovenia and Croatia break with their Yugoslav parent body; Serbia imposes an economic blockade on Slovenia
	April	Multiparty elections, first in Slovenia, then in Croatia; similar multiparty elections follow in other republics in the course of the year, in all cases electing nationalist-oriented leadership; State of emergency lifted in Kosovo (since Feb. 1989)
	May	Slovenian National Assembly elects Milan Kučan as State President; Serbs elect Borisav Jović as president of the collective state presidency of Yugoslavia; Alojze Peterle, president of the Christian Democratic party, part of the DEMOS coalition, is elected prime minister of Slovenia; HDZ leader Franjo Tudjman is elected president of Croatia
	July	Serbian National Assembly votes to dissolve the provincial government of Kosovo; Slobodan Milošević is elected president of the new Socialist party in Serbia, a merging of

		the League of Communists and the Socialist Alliance
	August	Serbian irregulars block roads leading to Knin (in Croatia) and hold a referendum for a Serbian Autonomous Region of Krajina; this action is not recognized by Croatian President Franjo Tudjman
	September	Prince Alexander Karadjordjević, a member of the exiled royal family, visits Yugoslavia for the first time in forty-nine years; Kosovo Albanian legislators hold secret session in Kacanik and adopt a constitution proclaiming Kosovo a republic within Yugoslavia
	October	The Serbian minority in Croatia declares their autonomy; Serbian parliament adopts program that places import duties on goods from Slovenia and Croatia
	November	The first multiparty elections are held in Macedonia and in Bosnia
	December	Serbia holds first multiparty elections since 1938; Milošević receives 65 percent of vote in presidential election; Alija Izetbegović, president of the Muslim Party for Democratic Action, is appointed president of Bosnia and Hercegovina; Slovenes vote 88 percent in favor of independence; constitutional proposals in the ensuing months fail to bridge the gap between Serbian demands for a strong federal state and Slovene and Croatian demands for a looser federation; Krajina Serbs declare autonomy in Croatia and set up armed formations with federal weapons
1991	January	It is revealed that Serbia printed $1.4 billion of unauthorized loans without federal approval
	February	Slovenia and Croatia vote to give their republic laws precedence over Yugoslav federal laws
	March	The Serbs prevent the federal presidency from functioning; armed clashed between Serbian irregulars and Croatian militia in Krajina; 50,000 demonstrators protest against the socialist (formerly communist) Serbian government and Milošević
	April	Krajina Serbs set up their own parliament to prepare for union with Serbia and to organize military units
	May	Armed clashes in Croatia between Croats and Serbs begin, with twelve Croatian policemen and three Serbs reported killed in the Slavonian town of Borovo Selo; the Serbs prevent the Croat Stipe Mesić from assuming the federal presicency; 86 percent of Croatia's population turns out to vote by 94 percent for independence; the European Community urges Yugoslavia to remain united
	June	Croatian President Franjo Tudjman and Slovenian President Milan Kučan agree in Ljubljana to become independent and sovereign states by June 26, with independence to be negotiated in stages; US Secretary of State James Baker visits Belgrade and says that the USA wants a united Yugoslavia; Stipe Mesić elected president of Presidency
	June 25	The Croatian and Slovenian legislatures vote overwhelmingly to declare independence;
	June 26	The Yugoslav People's Army (YPA) begins armed intervention in Slovenia, apparently trying to cut Slovenia's communications by seizing border posts and airports
	July	Yugoslav federal troops begin moving out of their barracks in the Croatian cities of Zagreb and Karlovac; Croatia and Slovenia to introduce a three-month moratorium on implementing further steps toward independence, and round-table talks on Yugoslavia's future to begin by August 1; fighting ceases in Slovenia but continues in Croatia, with the federal army arming local Serbian irregular forces
	July-August	The European Community send observers to Croatia while trying to fashion a diplomatic solution to the crisis; Germany takes the lead in acknowledging that the old Yugoslavia is probably dead; Austria takes a similar position
	September	The UN Security Council imposes a mandatory embargo on arms to Yugoslavia; Serbian shelling of Vukovar and Osijek enters a new, intensive phase; Kosovo Albanians vote for independence in an unofficial referendum
	October	Crown Prince Aleksandar Karadjordjević, grandson of Yugoslav King Aleksandar I (assassinated in 1934) is greeted in Belgrade by as many as 80,000 Serbs; the Yugoslav a

		force attacks the Croatian capital, Zagreb, centering on President Tudjman's offices and other government buildings; after a three-month EC-brokered moratorium on independence moves, Slovenia and Croatia resume progress toward full independence; Croatian Foreign Minister Zvonimir Separović states that the Croatian government is ready to offer broad autonomy to the republic's Serbian minority, entailing local self-government, cultural freedom, and language rights; the YPA begins a major ground, air, and sea attack on the Adriatic port of Dubrovnik and the eastern Slavonian town of Vukovar
	November	Major shelling of Dubrovnik; after three months of siege, the eastern Croatian town of Vukovar falls to federal troops and Serbian irregulars, prompting the evacuation of 14,000 civilians from the town; *The Washington Post* reports on forced population transfers, later to become known as "ethnic cleansing"
	December	The UN reports that more than 550,000 people have been displaced since the outbreak of the conflict, which has left 6,000 dead and 15,000 wounded; the Croatian National Assembly passes a law on autonomy for minorities that will leave the police force, the courts, schools, and the media in mainly Serbian areas in the hands of the Serbs; Stipe Mesić resigns as President of the federal State Presidency, saying his office has become irrelevant; Press reports of a massacre of Croats by Serbian Četniks at Vocin, Slavonia; Bosnian Serbs declare their own republic; Markovic resigns as prime minister; Germany recognizes Slovenia and Croatia
1992	January	UN special envoy Cyrus Vance announces that Serbia, the army, and Croatia have agreed to his peaace plan, including the peacekeeping UN Protection Force (UNPROFOR); a MiG jet belonging to the YPA destroys a clearly marked EC helicopter in clear weather, killing one Frenchman and four Italians;
	January 15	Following Germany's lead, all twelve EC members recognize Slovenia and Croatia, joined by Turkey, Austria, Switzerland, Finland, Norway, Sweden, Malta, Australia, Hungary, Poland, and Czechoslovakia
	March 1	In a referendum in Bosnia and Hercegovina, 63% of the electorate vote in favor of independence, with the Serb minority opposing independence; in a referendum in Montenegro, Montenegrins vote overwhelmingly to remain in a Yugoslavia consisting of the republics of Serbia and Montenegro; first shooting in Sarajevo
	March 9	40,000 people demonstrate against Milosević in Belgrade
	March 27	Bosnian Serbs proclaim their own constitution
	April	Serbian offensive in Bosnia; Višegrad subjected to ethnic cleansing
	April 6	European community recognizes the independence of Bosnia and Hercegovina
	April 7	The United States recognizes Croatia, Slovenia and Bosnia and Hercegovina as independent countries
	April 8	Serbian Air Force launches attacks in Bosnia
	April 21	Intense fighting in Sarajevo
	April 27	Serbia and Montenegro proclaim the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (FRY)
	May	United Nations begins relief missions in Sarajevo, first by air then by land
	May 14	A new coalition government is formed in Slovenia pending elections in November; President Milan Kucan tops opinion polls
	May 24	Kosovo Albanians hold unofficial legislative and presidential elections; Ibrahim Rugova is elected president
	May 27	Serbs shell bread line in Sarajevo; television coverage of the tragedy graphically illustrates the civilian nature of this war to the world
	May 30	The United Nations approves sanctions against Serbia and Montenegro
	June 15	Dobrica Ćosić becomes president of the rump Yugoslavia
	June 16	Croatia and Bosnia announce an agreement to cooperate more closely in the war

	Mitterand pays a surprise visit to Sarajevo, walking the streets in a sign of support for the people of the city
July 2	Milan Panic announces his appointment as prime minister of the rump Yugoslavia
July 3	The Croats in Hercegovina declare their own self-governing community
July 7	The Macedonian government of Nikola Kljusev falls
July 10	NATO, the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe and the Western European Union decide on a naval blockade of the rump Yugoslavia
July 11-12	Serbian forces launch a major new offensive in northern Bosnia
July and August	A British television crew visits Serbian civilian detention camps in northern Bosnia; subsequent television and newspaper coverage focuses international attention on the policy of ethnic cleansing, with Serbia increasingly being blamed around the world for the worst excesses of the war
August 2	Croatian President Franjo Tudjman and his HDZ party win an impressive victory in presidential and legislavtive elections
August 4	Russia, Bulgaria and a small number of other countries recognize the independence of Macedonia
August 26-27	The London Conference, the first meeting to bring together all of the major domestic and foreign actors in the war, establishes a set of principles to resolve the conflict and the mechanism for a peace process is set up
End of August	The United Nations special human rights envoy, Tadeusz Mazowiecki, pays his first visit to the former Yugoslavia and says that human rights "do not exist" in Bosnia; he particularly condemns Serbian ethnic cleansing
September 3	An Italian relief plane is shot down by unknown forces; the United Nations suspends relief flights to Sarajevo
September 4	A Macedonia coalition government takes office under Prime Minister Branko Crvenkovski; Albanians are included in the government
September 14	The United Nations Security Council votes to increase its forces in Bosnia by 6,000
September 17	Heavy shelling by Serb forces in Sarajevo as part of a new offensive
September 18	The first round of talks opens between warring Bosnian factions
September 22	The United Nations votes to exclude the rump Yugoslavia in effect from membership; the United States calls for the establishment of a war crimes tribunal
September 23	Croatia and Bosnia sign another accord on cooperation
September 25	The Zagreb weekly *Globus* breaks the story of the systematic rape of Muslim women as part of the Serbian policy of ethnic cleansing
September 30	Tudjman and Čosić sign an agreement leading to the evacuation of the Prevlaka Peninsula, near Dubrovnik, by Serbian forces on October 20; a Russian UNPROFOR officer reports about 1,000 angry Croatian refugees are on the march back to their old homes, now under Serbian control, in eastern Croatia A new wave of ethnic cleansing in Bosnia; international relief agencies predict up to 400,000 deaths in Bosnia in the winter from exposure and hunger
October 1	Serbs begin ethnic cleansing in Sarajevo
October 3	International relief flights to Sarajevo resume
October 5	Tudjman says that he and Čosić have agreed to "orderly" population transfers
October 6	The United Nations votes to set up a war crimes commission, but provides few specifics as to how it will function; the strategic city of Bosanski Brod, on the Bosnian-Croatian border falls to the Serbs; Muslims again suspect a deal between Serbs and Croats to partition Bosnia at their expense
October 9	The United Nations votes to establish a no-fly zone over Bosnia, but does not provide provisions for enforcement
October 14	Cyrus Vance, former US Secretary of State and the United Nations representative to the Yugoslav peace talks, warns that "a spark from Macedonia could

ignite" the Balkans

October 15 Panic opens talks with Kosovo Albanians; Mazowiecki calls for independent international broadcasts to the former Yugoslavia to offset the promotion of hatred in the local media

October 17 Rumors of a coup in Bosnia; subsequent reports of fighting between Muslims and Croats in the Travnik area; the Croatian parliament votes to lift the immunity of three far right deputies; critics across the political spectrum accuse Tudjman and his party of growing authoritarianism toward the press and political opponents

October 19 Serbian police take over the federal Ministry of Internal Affairs in Belgrade in an apparent power struggle between Panić and Milosević

October 20 Tudjman and Čosić sign an agreement to reopen the Zagreb-Belgrade highway and set up liaison offices in each other's capitals

October 21 Bosnian President Alija Izetbegović publicly endorses a division of his country into eight to ten cantons on a nonethnic basis and announces he will not run for reelection when his term expires in December

October 22 Forensic pathologist working with Mazowiecki's team announces that at least four mass graves have been found at Vukovar, Croatia, and probably contain some of the 3,000 Croats still reported missing

October 28 News agencies report that Croats appear to have ethnically cleansed Prozor after defeating Muslim forces; Bosnian Serbs reject plan by Vance and the European Community representative to the peace talks, Lord David Owen, for cantonization

October 29 Tudjman urges Muslims to accept partition along ethnic lines; Jajce falls to Serbs

October 30-early November Up to 40,000 refugees flee Jajce for Travnik and are shot at by Serbs on the way

October 31 Serbian enclaves in Bosnia agree on a common currency and armed forces

November 2 Panic loses a vote of confidence in the lower house of the rump Yugoslav parliament

November 4 Panic survives a similar vote in the upper house of parliament

November 6 Rioting in Skopje leaves four dead and 36 injured; Macedonian and some Albanian leaders blame Serbia for provoking incidents between Albanians and Macedonians

November 11 Unknown assailants attack army base in Pristina, the capital of Kosovo

November 16 The United Nations tightens sanctions against Serbia and Montenegro, imposing a blockade

November 25 A regional conference on the crisis opens in Istanbul; Greece and Serbia do not attend

November 27 The Socialist Party confirms that Milosević will be its presidential candidate in the December 20 elections

November 28 A United Nations convoy reaches Srebrenica after weeks of obstruction by the Serbs

December 1 Panic announces that he will run against Milosević for the Serbian presidency; new Serbian offensive in Sarajevo

December 6 Slovenia votes in presidential and parliamentary elections

December 8 Serb forces capture the road from the airport to the city of Sarajevo--the aid pipeline--violating an accord they signed in July, surrendering the road to United Nations relief missions

December 9 Under international pressure, Serbs return control of the airport road to the United Nations

December 15 NATO agrees to draw up contingency plans for possible use of military operations at the request of United Nations Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali

December 16 The United States releases a list of possible war criminals; included on the list are Milosević, Radovan Karadžić, the Bosnian Serb leader, Ratko Mladić, military commander of Bosnian Serb forces and Vojslav Seselj, leader of a Serbian ultra-nationalist party and a member of parliament

December 22 Izetbegović's term as President of Bosnia and Hercegovina expires, although he remains

	in office under a special constitutional war provision that allows for an extension of office until an election becomes possible
December 23	The foreign ministers of Poland, Austria, Hungary and Slovenia present a joint stand to United Nations Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali calling for the use of force to implement U.N. Security Council resolutions
December 26	Russian Foreign Minister Andrei Kozyrev says "there was no alternative to the peace process" in Bosnia and that United Nations military action would lead nowhere
December 28	International media report official confirmation of Slobodan Milosević's re-election as the President of Serbia, despite charges of voting irregularities; the socialist and ultra-nationalist parties are expected to form a government coalition; the New York *Times* reports that the Bush administration has warned the Serbian government, orally and in writing, about extending the war to Kosovo, saying the U.S. would be prepared to "employ military force against the Serbs in Kosovo and in Serbia proper;" the first United Nations troops in a 150-man force arrive in Macedonia
December 29	Panic loses a vote of confidence in both houses of parliament; talks between Tudjman and Izetbegović on the future of Bosnia fail to reach a settlement
December 31	A pro-Serb demonstration north of Skopje turns violent; tear gas is needed to break up the demonstration; Secretary General of the United Nations, Boutros Boutros-Ghali, is jeered by Sarajevans on a visit to the city for the inaction of the international community against the Serbs
End of December	Macedonian President Kiro Gligorov says the cost of nonrecognition has been "enormous" for his republic; meanwhile, Greece tells reporters it is sending representatives to key capitals abroad to press for non-recognition
1993 Beginning of January	Peace talks are under way in Geneva on the future of Bosnia; the Vance-Owen proposal for the division of the country into ethnic cantons and the creation of a new constitution are signed only by the Bosnian Croats; "rump" Yugoslavia detains four Romanian tugboats and 18 barges on the Yugoslav sector of the Danube in retaliation for Romania's enforcement of United Nations sanctions against them
January 5	American financier and philanthropist George Soros announces he will lend the Republic of Macedonia $25 million to purchase fuel and other necessary supplies
January 10	Momir Bulatović is reelected President of the Republic of Montenegro
January 11	Bosnian's Deputy Prime Minister, Hakija Turajlić, is assassinated by a Serbian gunman. Turajlić was under United Nations escort when he was shot repeatedly at close range
January 12	Slovenian Prime Minister Janez Drnovsek is reelected by the National Assembly
January 13	Radovan Karadžić, leader of the Bosnian Serbs, announces he has conditionally accepted an international peace plan to end the fighting in Bosnia but must take the plan back to the self-styled Bosnian Serb parliament in Pale for approval
January 12-13	Muslim and Croatian forces clash in central Bosnia; a commission under United Nations auspices is formed to calm the situation
January 16-17	The federal Yugoslav army admits to shelling Bosnian Muslim towns, the first such admission of their involvement in the war since formally withdrawing from Bosnia on May 19, 1992
January 19	The U.S. State Department releases its annual Human Rights Report; it condemns Serbian forces in the former Yugoslavia and says the policy of ethnic cleansing "borders on genocide"
January 20	The self-styled Bosnian Serb parliament approves an international peace plan, paving the way for a resumption of talks in Geneva
January 22	Croatian forces launch an offensive in the Krajina, an area of Croatia nominally under United Nations control since the previous January, but in fact controlled by Serbian

militias; Tudjman tells United Nations mediators that the intention was only to regain control of a strategic bridge linking Croatia proper with its Dalmatian coast;

January 29 Croatian forces continue their offensive in the Krajina region, gaining control of the Peruca Dam, which supplies Dalmatia with much of its electricity; the dam was damaged by retreating Serbian forces who detonated mines in the dam, but there does not appear to be an immediate danger of the dam's collapse; more tugboats defied the United Nations embargo on Serbia and passed into Serbian waters on the Danube

February 1 Bosnian peace talks move to New York; U.S. officials express reservations about the Vance-Owen plan, saying it rewards Serbian aggression and that even if all three sides agree to the plan it would be close to impossible to enforce

February 4 Serbian ethnic cleansing stepped up in the areas of southeastern Hercegovina

February 6 International media report that a German aid flight was hit by Serbs en route from Zagreb to Sarajevo and crewman was seriously injured.

February 7 Franjo Tudjman's HDZ party won about two-thirds of the vote in preliminary returns for the largely symbolic upper house of parliament, although a regional party took about 66 percent of the vote in Istria

February 11 The U.S announces a six-point approach to its policy on Bosnia; noticeably absent from the plan are calls for the enforcement of the no-fly zone over Bosnia, the lifting of the arms embargo against the Bosnian government forces and the bombing of Serbian heavy artillery; the city of Sarajevo refuses to accept more United Nations aid until the Serbs are forced to allow relief convoys to reach eastern Bosnia

February 16 Tudjman offers a six-month extension of the UN mandate in Croatia scheduled to expire in a week; the Macedonian parliament rejects the United Nations compromise proposal to use the name, "Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia"

Mid-February Bosnian Serbs continue to block a relief convoy headed for eastern Bosnia

February 16 Ibrahim Rugova, unofficial president of Kosovo, proposes a 10-point plan aimed at preventing the spread of the war to Kosovo

February 18 The Council of Europe calls the use of rape for political purposes as part of ethnic cleansing a "crime against humanity"

February 20 The United Nations tells Croatia it faces sanctions if it does not stop its offensive against Serb-held parts of Croatia

February 21 A United Nations relief convoy reaches the eastern Bosnian town of Žepa after a five-day delay by Serbian forces

February 20-21 Violence broke out in two days of anti-Muslim demonstrations in Skopje

February 22 The United Nations Security Council voted unanimously to set up a tribunal to investigate war crimes in the former Yugoslavia; relief shipments to Sarajevo resumed

February 23 President Bill Clinton and U.N. Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali agreed on the terms for American airdrops to eastern Bosnia

February 27 Armed gunmen stopped a train in the predominantly Muslim region of Sandžak, in Serbia, seizing 40 passengers, mostly Muslims; the kidnapping comes among reports that Muslim homes and businesses have been destroyed in Sandžak

February 28 The United States begins airlifting food and medicine to eastern Bosnia

March 2 The eastern Bosnian town of Čerska, the initial target of U.S. airdrops, falls to Serbian forces; Reuters and the BBC report new waves of Serbian ethnic cleansing begin in northern and central Bosnia; the rump Yugoslavia elects Radoje Kontić as prime minister

March 4-5 The United Nations reaches an agreement with Serbian forces to evacuate up to 10,000 Muslims from eastern Bosnian towns under intense Serbian attacks, a move some criticized as aiding ethnic cleansing

March 11 Slobosan Milosević meets with French President François Mitterand in Paris in an attempt to convince him to pressure the Bosnian Serbs into accepting the peace plan

End of March Bosnian Muslims agree to the basic provisions of the Vance-Owen peace plan, with

minor modifications in the map and the guarantee that the lifting of the arms embargo against them would be considered; the Bosnian Serbs are the only party to have rejected the plan

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I. ALPHABET AND LANGUAGE

Romanian is perhaps the easiest of the East European languages for an American to learn since it is related to the Romance languages and thus more recognizable. The language stems from Latin. Romanian is now written in the Latin alphabet, although the Cyrillic alphabet was used from the 14th to mid-19th centuries. The pronunciation rules are relatively simple. Consonants are pronounced like their English counterparts except that **c** is always pronounced as **k**, except before **e** and **i** when it is pronounced **che** (as in cello) and **chi** (as in cheat), **che** and **chi** in Romanian are pronounced ké (Kay) and ki (key). **G** is hard but pronounced like **j** before **e** and **i**; except for **ghe** and **ghi**, when it is pronounced gé (gay) and gi (French pronunciation of Guy). **J** is **zh** as in French, **ş** is **sh**, and **ţ** is **ts**. Vowels are similar to those in English, except for the letters **ă** (a schwa sound as in **up**) and **â** and **î** (like myrrh or **burr**, with the lips rounded and tightened). Romanian vowels also lend themselves to forming diphthongs and even triphthongs.

Languages spoken among the ethnic minorities in Romania include Hungarian, German, Ukrainian, Russian, Serbo-Croatian, Slovak, Turkish, and Bulgarian.

II. GEOGRAPHY

Romania is located at approximately 45° north latitude and 25° east longitude (approximately halfway between the North Pole and the Equator and halfway between the Atlantic and the Urals). It borders Ukraine, Moldova, Hungary, Serbia, and Bulgaria, and has a Black Sea coastline of 153 miles. The dominant physical feature of Romania is the Carpathian mountains, an extension of the Alps, which separate the historic provinces of Moldavia and Wallachia from Transylvania. Within Transylvania are the smaller Bihor mountains. The major river in Romania is the Danube, which has its outlet in Romania and forms most of its southern boundary before turning north to separate the region of Dobrogea (Dobrudja) from the rest of Romania. Other important rivers include the Olt, Mureş, Tisa, and Prut. The other major historical region of Romania is Bessarabia, which lies between the Prut and the Dniester rivers and, together with the northern Moldavian region of Bukovina, was forcibly ceded to the Soviet Union in 1940 as a result of the 1939 Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact. The Danube is not only a source of commercial activity, but also provides substantial hydroelectric power through the Iron Gates power stations, located where the Danube cuts through the Carpathians. Although Communist rule transformed Romania from an almost exclusively agriculturally-based economy to one with a major industrial sector, the Romanian economy continues to be primarily agricultural. Natural resources include petroleum, natural gas, and non-ferrous metals.

The most significant ethnic minority are the two million Magyars (ethnic Hungarians), comprising approximately 10% of the total population of 23 million and living primarily in Transylvania. In Transylvania there is also a dwindling yet important German minority, while in the Banat region of far-western Romania there are Serb and Slovak communities. In northern Transylvania and the Dobrogea region there are Ukrainian settlements, while a Turkish minority resides in Dobrogea. Jews and Armenians are found in the larger cities, especially in the capital Bucharest and in the Moldavian city of Iaşi, while Gypsies (an estimated 3 million) are found all over Romania. Examples of the human rights violations and brutality suffered by ethnic and religious minorities in Romania seemed endless as Ceauşescu pursued a goal of ethnically homogenizing Romania, either by forced assimilation or by driving the "impure" out of the country.

III. HISTORY

From the Romans to the Ottomans. The origins of the Romanians are still somewhat in dispute. The most generally accepted theory is that the Romanians descend from the ancient Dacians who ruled the area in the first century AD. In the second century the Romans took over the area under Emperor Trajan and in the process assimilated the Dacians. When the Romans evacuated the area in the fourth century the people that were left behind were what we today consider Romanians. Until the 11th century, the Romanians were ruled by a variety of migrating tribes that for one reason or another occupied the area. In the 11th century, the Hungarians took control of Transylvania, although the two principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia remained independent. In the mid-1400s, the Romanians led by Stephan the Great of Moldavia maintained an independent state that held off the Turks for 50 years.

Greek Phanariote Rule. Stephan's successors, however, were not as talented and were forced to acknowledge Turkish suzerainty and pay tribute. Moldavia and Wallachia were never occupied by the Turks, but were administered for them by Greek Phanariotes (Greeks from the Phanar District of Constantinople). The Romanian nobility maintained a feudal society, but did not begin to live relatively well until the Ottoman Empire went into decline . Beginning in the early 1600s, as in Bulgaria, Greek influence dominated Romanian society; teaching the Greek language was emphasized, economic life centered on Greece, and the Slavonic liturgy was forbidden.

Russian Control. Russian influence in the Danubian Principalities grew throughout the eighteenth and the first half of the nineteenth centuries. Romania was frequently the scene of armed clashes between the Russian Empire and the Ottoman Empire. Parts of the Romanian lands were repeatedly occupied by the Russian army and ultimately Russian rule replaced that of the Ottomans and Greeks. The Treaty of Kuchuk Kainardji of 1774 gave Russia the right to speak on behalf of the Romanian Principalities at the Porte, the seat of the Ottoman Emperor in Constantinople. Under this treaty, Russia also claimed the right to protect Orthodox Christians in the Balkans. In 1812, Russia annexed Bessarabia. The 1829 Treaty of Adrianople solidified Russian rights in Moldavia and Wallachia, and made them Russian protectorates.

The Dual Election. Romanian independence came as part of the aftermath of the Crimean War. The Treaty of Paris of 1856 ended the Russian protectorate and placed Moldavia and Wallachia under the protection of the seven Great Powers. Although the Powers opposed unification at that time, a plebescite on the question resulted in overwhelmingly pro-unionist assemblies in both principalities. The elections which were held to determine who would be prince in each province stipulated that eligible candidates could be born in either principality. As a result, the Moldavian assembly in Iaşi elected Alexandru Ion Cuza as prince on 5 January 1859. On 24 January 1859 the Wallachian assembly also elected Cuza, effecting a personal union of the two principalities. The election was presented to the Powers as a *fait accompli*, which they accepted rather than intervene militarily.

Independent Romania. Cuza made great progress in unifying the Romanian nation and in pursuing autonomous policies, but the opposition of the landowners to his efforts at land reform caused his downfall. The Congress of Berlin in 1878, following the war between Russia and the Ottoman Empire, led to the declaration of Romanian independence and the coronation of Carol (Karl) of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen, a German prince, as King of Romania. The Second Balkan War in 1913 saw Romania join the other Balkan nations in an attack on Bulgaria, thus gaining the disputed area of Southern Dobrogea.

Romania during and between the Wars. In the First World War, Romanian irredenta included Transylvania and Bessarabia, areas disputed with the Hungarians and the Russians respectively. The Romanians, fearing that a successful Russian offensive would deny them Transylvania, entered the war on the Allied side and attacked the Habsburgs in 1916. They were forced, however, to give up and join the Central Powers after a series of defeats. In 1918, however, they rejoined the Allies and received all of Transylvania, Bessarabia, and Bukovina. These acquisitions were confirmed by the Treaties of St. Germain in 1919 and Trianon in 1920. The inter-war years saw domestic political turmoil due to the ability of the parties in power to rig elections. During the 1930s Romanian politics became more violent as the Romanian fascist party, the Iron Guard, became more powerful. In an attempt to thwart their aims, King Carol II executed their leader, Corneliu Codreanu, and established a royal dictatorship. The Romanians maintained control of their territory until 1940 when the rise of Hitler and the Vienna Decision of 1940 forced them to give most of Transylvania to the Hungarians and the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact allowed the Soviet Union to demand the cession of Bessarabia and northern Bukovina. The Iron Guard used these capitulations to overthrow King Carol II, and the dictator General Ion Antonescu ruled Romania until 23 August 1944. The Romanians joined the invasion of the USSR in June 1941, hoping to regain Bessarabia, but in 1944 as the Soviet army advanced, switched sides and joined the Allies in order to ensure the recapture of Transylvania. Bessarabia remained in Soviet hands.

Communist Rule. The communists took power in 1944 after participating in a series of coalition governments while gradually eliminating rival parties. Romania's last king, Michael, abdicated on 30 December 1947, and a republic was proclaimed. In the purges of the 1950s that almost inevitably followed the takeover, the communists who had stayed in the country during the interwar and war years (the so-called "home" communists) under Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej, defeated those communists who had been in the Soviet Union, the "Muscovites," led by Ana Pauker. This, along with the Sino-Soviet split of the late 1950s, allowed the Romanians to gain more independence than the other states of the Soviet bloc. It is significant that the period of conflict between the two countries began only after the Soviets had withdrawn their troops from Romania in 1958.

Autonomy from Moscow. The catalyst for the open assertion of Romanian autonomy was Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev's 1962 call for a division of labor within the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance which would have assigned Romania the role of supplier of raw materials and agricultural products to the rest of the bloc. The implementation of this proposal would have required the creation of a supranational planning body. Khrushchev's idea was rejected by Gheorghiu-Dej, who wanted to industrialize the country. Romania confirmed its defiance of the Soviet Union in its 1964 "Statement on the Stand of the Romanian Workers' Party Concerning the Problems of the International Communist and Working Class Movement:"

> Bearing in mind the diversity of the conditions of socialist construction, there are not, nor can there be, any unique patterns and recipes; no one can decide what is, and what is not correct for other countries and parties. It is up to every Marxist-Leninist party, it is a sovereign right of each socialist state, to elaborate, choose or change the forms and methods of socialist construction.
> There does not and cannot exist a 'parent' party and a 'son' party, or 'superior' parties and 'subordinate' parties...No party has, or can have, a privileged place,

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or can impose its line and opinions on other parties.[1]

The Ceauşescu Years: 1965-1989. The death of Gheorghiu-Dej in 1965 was followed by the rise to power of Nicolae Ceauşescu, who led the Communist Party until 22 December 1989. The sixties and seventies were a period of relative domestic liberalism when culture was de-Sovietized and re-nationalized, political prisoners were released, the Minister of the Interior responsible for much of the terror of the 1950s, Alexandru Draghici, was purged, Soviet advisors were eliminated, and Romania sought Western financial and political help. Many believe that Ceauşescu only followed this policy in order to eliminate hard-line opposition, and, once this opposition was eliminated by the mid-1970s, he himself became a hard-liner. Ceauşescu's relative popularity dissipated in the 1980s as his economic policies began to collapse and a neo-Stalinist system of terror was practiced by a pervasive secret police, the *Securitate*. Opposition emerged, as illustrated by the military coups and workers' strikes in the Jiu Valley in 1977 and in Braşov in 1987. The policy known as "systematization" caused an uproar among Hungarians in Hungary who claimed that its purpose was to "romanianize" the Magyar minority in Romania. The systematization program was designed to destroy 8,000 villages, many in non-Magyar areas as well, and resettle the populations in agro-industrial complexes. The Magyar minority was the most persecuted victim of Ceauşescu's repression. The use of minority languages in official or cultural functions was forbidden. Names of Magyars were romanianized. Only Romanian place names were allowed. Magyar-language television broadcasts ceased and television sets were altered so that programs from Hungary could not be viewed. Magyar schools and universities dwindled. The only newspaper that could be brought from Hungary was *Sakkélet* [Chess Life]; people were refused entry into Romania from Hungary for carrying *Népszabadság*, the official Hungarian party daily. The *Securitate* terrorized Magyars and religious activists with beatings and murders. Although the Magyars were definitely a persecuted minority in Romania, it is important to remember that all Romanians suffered under Ceauşescu's dictatorship.

The 1989 Revolution. The revolution that toppled the Ceauşescu regime began in Timişoara on 15 December 1989, where a demonstration to protect Magyar Calvinist pastor László Tőkés from arrest by the *Securitate* quickly swelled into a massive anti-Ceauşescu rally involving Romanians, Magyars, and other ethnic groups which lasted for several days. On 17 December 1989 Ceauşescu gave orders to shoot the protesters, then left for a scheduled three-day visit to Iran. From the BBC and Radio Free Europe, Romanians throughout the country heard about the protest and the ensuing massacres. On his return to Romania on 20 December, Ceauşescu addressed the nation on television, blaming the unrest on foreign interference. On 21 December he staged a rally in support of his policies in the Palace Square in Bucharest. Instead of the traditional official shouts of "*Ceauşescu şi Poporul*" [Ceauşescu and the People], he was jeered with shouts of "*Ceauşescu Dictatorul*" [Ceauşescu the Dictator]. Visibly shaken at having lost control of the crowd, Ceauşescu stopped speaking for three minutes and his weakness encouraged the crowds. Crowds filled the streets of Bucharest that night, and the next morning, 22 December 1989, Ceauşescu ordered the army to shoot the demonstrators. The Defense Minister Vasile Milea, however, was shot in mysterious circumstances. The army turned against Ceauşescu and he and his wife were forced to flee Bucharest. Fighting continued between the army and the still-loyal *Securitate* forces. Ceauşescu and his wife were captured on 23 December and summarily executed on 25 December 1989 after a secret trial by anonymous judges which

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[1]Scînteia, 23 April 1964, quoted in Michael Shafir, Romania: Politics, Economics, and Society, (London: Frances Pinter, 1985), p. 177.

was later broadcast on television.

IV. GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS

Government and Communist Party under Ceauşescu. Although its structures were similar to those of other bloc states, the Communist system in Romania differed in significant ways. The party was one of the largest in Eastern Europe, encompassing 14% of the population as a result of its rejection of the Leninist concept of the Communist Party as an elite vanguard, and of its emphasis on "the unity of the Party and the People."

A form of unity existed as well between the state and the party. In contrast to other Communist states, the party was not a separate policy-making institution, but instead was unified with the state, especially at county and communal levels. There were joint party-state bodies at the national level as well. The party maintained primacy in decision making while the state was restricted to managerial functions. As in other East Bloc countries, mass organizations existed for the transmission of information to and from the population.

The most significant political force was the personal power that Nicolae Ceauşescu accumulated. He helped develop a policy of cadre rotation in which all but a few individuals were rotated after two or three years to a new position, ostensibly to make sure that political executives remained "generalists." In fact, the purpose of regular rotation was to prevent rivals from accumulating political power bases from which they could attack Ceauşescu and to disassociate administrators from specific bureaucratic interests thus diffusing the impact of bureaucratic politics.

The last curious aspect of Romanian politics was the personality cult that Ceauşescu built up around himself and family. His wife, Elene, occupied the number two position in the regime as Chairman of the Central Committee for state and party cadres. Their irresponsible son Nicu also had high posts in the government.

Romanian Politics 1989-1993. The power vacuum that followed Ceauşescu's fall was filled by the National Salvation Front, a group composed primarily of former Communist Party officials who had fallen into disfavor under the former dictator. Led by President Ion Iliescu and Prime Minister Petre Roman, the Front resisted popular pressures to reform the political process and create a multi-party system, choosing instead to preserve one-party rule. Some analysts have explained the events of December 1989 as a popular revolution accompanied by a political coup d'etat. These analysts see a fundamental betrayal of the revolution by the former high-ranking Communist Party officials. In evidence of this they cite the fact that national elections held May 20, 1990 were marred by electoral violations and the widespread intimidation of political opposition parties. They further note the rigging of election results to guarantee the National Salvation Front's undisputed primacy in the National Assembly, Romania's parliament. The events of June 13-15, 1990, in which student demonstrators were beaten by miners bussed in by the government and suspected of being members of the secret police, lends further support to this hypothesis. In addition, they argue, the institutional structures which were established, and which replicate those found in West European constitutional democracies, were merely a facade covering the continued supremacy of Communist Party holdovers operating under a new name. This mimicry of Western structures simply clothed in the guise of popular legitimacy a governmental oligarchy ruling essentially by decree. The Front controlled the radio and television and used the old Party apparatus to replace Ceauşescu supporters with its own. In 1990, the Front evicted opposition parties from their headquarters, restricted opposition access

to the media, created a special police force to aid in the suppression of protests, ruthlessly crushed popular demonstrations, and held political prisoners who were summarily tried by special prosecuting tribunals.

Pressured by domestic and international opposition, in 1991 the National Salvation Front abandoned its heavy handed tactics and began to take part in a more representative parliamentary democracy, using the parliament as its sounding board. While the parliament continues to be numerically dominated by Front members, there is a lively, effective, and united opposition. In September 1991, the Roman government fell and was replaced by a coalition government headed by the politically neutral Teodor Stolojan, former head of the National Privatization Agency. While the majority of portfolios in the Stolojan government were held by Front members, there were also representatives of the opposition National Liberal Party in the government.

A further sign of democratization was the promulgation of a new democratic constitution in December 1991. While not pleasing to everybody, even the opposition admits that this constitution is better than any constitution Romania has had before. Furthermore, in February 1992 the first free local elections since 1937 were held. In these elections, declared fair by a body of neutral international observers, nearly equal numbers of mayoral seats and municipal and communal council seats were won by representatives of the Front and by representatives of the Democratic Convention, a union of opposition parties including the National Liberal Party, the National Democratic and Christian Peasant Party, the Civic Alliance Party, and the Union of Democratic Hungarians in Romania. New parliamentary and presidential elections were held in September 1992, in which the Democratic National Salvation Front won the largest number of seats but failed to win a majority. President Ion Iliescu was re-elected in a runoff election in October. Nicolae Vacaroiu, an independent, formed a government in November. This time, however, there were widespread charges of fraud in connection with the balloting, and in protest the US refused to grant Romania Most Favored Nation trade status, which it had already granted the other former socialist states. In April 1992 King Michael visited Romania for the first time since he abdicated 45 years ago, and there seems to be at least some degree of popular support for the return of the monarchy. Relations between Romanian nationalists and the ethnic Hungarian minority seem to be worsening, although almost no violence was reported during the elections. Romanian foreign affairs during 1992 were dominated by the crisis in Moldova, where Russian-speaking separatists on the left bank of the Dniester River have proclaimed a "Dniester Soviet Socialist Republic." Armed clashes between Moldovan and "Dniester" forces began in December 1991, with separatist forces being backed up by mercenaries from Russia and Ukraine and even apparently mutinous units of the Russian (formerly Soviet) Fourteenth Army, which remains stationed in the region. The conflict in Moldova is a serious problem for Romania because Moldova's population is largely Romanian, and movements aiming at unification are politically strong in both countries. Also, the "Dniester SSR" is apparently being supported by nationalist elements within the Russian government and military, which threatens Russo-Romanian relations.

V. ECONOMY

Throughout the 1970s, the tenets of Romanian economic policy corresponded with Ceauşescu's personal inclinations. The system was characterized by an excessive emphasis on heavy industry, "gigantomania," the socialization of agriculture, and an ideologically-motivated prejudice against private gain. In the seventies this formula achieved considerable success and was accompanied

by high rates of growth and investment, transforming Romanian society from an agricultural one into a relatively industrialized one. By the eighties, however, the extensive industrialization and transfer of labor to industry had reached the point of diminishing economic returns and a decline in productivity and product quality ensued. The Romanian economy remained a Stalinist edifice throughout the eighties.

Maintaining the Stalinist system did not mean that attempts were not made to reactivate the economy. But reforms remained superficial, consisting largely of what has been called "administrative tinkering." Innovations included attempts (1) to create incentive through profit sharing ventures, (2) to decentralize the economic decision-making process by establishing limited worker self-management in specific enterprises, and (3) to improve productivity and efficiency by establishing bonuses and more accurate output norms. The failure of these reforms was reflected in Romanian economic performance beginning in the 1970s. The oil crisis of the 1970s further weakened the Romanian economy. To cope with this crisis, huge Western loans were solicited and stringent efforts made to eliminate Romania's massive foreign trade deficit. Loan payments were subsequently rescheduled and imports minimized in favor of exports. Severe and widespread food shortages were the result, requiring exorbitant price increases and comprehensive rationing. Energy shortages and attempts to limit consumption affected winter heating supplies. While these measures virtually eliminated Romania's foreign debt, the resulting impoverishment of the country was a major cause of the Revolution of 1989.

The Romanian economy is currently in a period of transition, but despite official statements it is still unclear how far current measures will go towards establishing a private enterprise, free-market economy. The pace of reform has been hesitant. In the month immediately following the fall of Ceauşescu, the National Salvation Front government announced its intention to decentralize the planning process and improve coordination among the official branches of the economy. In early 1990, in decrees both on private enterprise and on land ownership, the government announced the legalization of small-scale private enterprises employing up to twenty people, and it announced the legalization of small-scale private land ownership. In spring 1991, the government passed legislation restoring to the original owners up to ten hectares (about 25 acres) of land which had been collectivized by the communists per individual. In August 1991 the government also passed legislation to begin the privatization of state industries through a system of stock vouchers to be sold to investors.

At the same time, the government has instituted severe austerity measures in the form of fuel and electricity rationing and widespread and massive layoffs of government employees, including workers in state-owned industries. In addition, fuel and food prices have been raised to reflect world market prices, while salaries have not kept pace. The popular animosity accompanying these measures and persistent strikes throughout the country have further eroded the economic situation. Attempts to acquire foreign loans and fuel supplies, and even foreign investment, have had limited success. The Romanian economy in 1993 is in a state of extreme crisis and literally on the brink of collapse.

VI. RELIGION

Romanian Orthodox-75%; Uniate (Greek or Byzantine Catholic)-10%; Roman Catholic-6%, Calvinist (Hungarian Reformed), Lutheran, Unitarian and Baptist-6%; Jewish and Muslim-3%.

The majority of the Romanian people belong to the Romanian Orthodox Church, which has a long

history as a pillar of Romanian national consciousness. The Romanian Orthodox Church was one of the few institutions which could protect Romanian culture throughout the ages, even in times when only Greek or Old Church Slavonic could be used in the liturgy. The church played an especially important role in Transylvania, where it protected and stimulated Romanian culture. The role of the Orthodox Church in Transylvania was shaken, however, by the creation in 1700 of the Romanian Church "United with Rome" (from which the term "Uniate" derives; this church is also known as the Greek or Byzantine Catholic Church).

The Uniate Church was created in order to reduce the Orthodox population of the newly acquired Habsburg land of Transylvania. The Habsburgs, staunch Roman Catholics, realized that the Orthodox could not be converted outright to Catholicism, even by force, so deeply rooted was the Orthodox religion. They therefore imposed a Catholic hierarchy on the Romanian Orthodox Church, creating the Uniate Church. This union was a product of some 1,000 Romanian Orthodox priests (about half of those in Transylvania) who accepted certain tenets of the Roman Catholic faith and who, in return, were permitted to celebrate the liturgy in Romanian and to marry. From 1700 until 1948, the Uniate Church and the Romanian Orthodox Church coexisted peacefully and were especially forceful in the battle against Magyarization in the late 19th century.

In 1948 the Romanian Communist authorities forced the Uniate Church to merge with the Romanian Orthodox Church, claiming that the 1700 union had been forced upon the Romanian people by the imperialist Habsburgs, but in reality fearing foreign (papal) influence. Those Uniate priests who would not convert were imprisoned and even executed, including the entire Uniate episcopal body. The Uniate Church was forced underground, where services and even ordinations were held in the "catacombs." After the 1989 Revolution, the Uniate Church was relegalized. The church managed to get back some of the buildings which the state itself had taken over for its own use, but few of the buildings which the Orthodox Church had taken over were returned. This has led to increased tension between Orthodox and Uniates, especially in Transylvania. Slowly the Uniate Church is rebuilding itself with outside aid and the help of a few sympathetic Orthodox bishops and priests.

The other religions in Romania are primarily those of the ethnic minorities. The Roman Catholic Church is predominantly ethnically Hungarian and German in Transylvania and Romanian in Bucharest and the province of Moldavia. There are two Lutheran churches in Transylvania, a German one and a Hungarian/Slovak one; the Calvinist (Hungarian Reformed) and Unitarian Churches are completely Hungarian. The Baptist Church is predominantly Romanian and is making inroads all over the country. The Turks in Dobrogea are Muslim, while the main Jewish centers of Romania are in Bucharest, Iaşi in Moldavia, and Oradea in Transylvania.

VII. CHRONOLOGY

2nd Century AD	Rome brings Balkan Peninsula under its rule
271	Roman army and administration withdrawn from Romanian territories
11th Century	Transylvania comes under Hungarian rule
1250-1350	Romanians establish principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia
1774	Russia defeats Turks--becomes "guarantor" of principalities
1829	Russia again defeats Turks--Moldavia and Wallachia autonomous under Russian protection

1856		Russia defeated in Crimean War--Moldavia and Wallachia placed under Great Power protection
1859		Moldavia and Wallachia united and named Romania
1878		Turks defeated--Romania gains full independence
1913		Second Balkan War: Romania joins war against Bulgaria and takes Dobrogea
1916		Romania enters World War I attacking Austria-Hungary but is defeated and joins the Central Powers
1918		Rejoins Allies, doubling its territory by taking Transylvania, Bessarabia, and Bukovina
1938		King Carol II declares royal dictatorship
1940-44		Joins Axis but loses parts of Transylvania to Hungary
1945	March	Radescu government resigns: new government formed under Petru Groza
1946	May	Romania receives Transylvania as part of post-war agreement
	November	National Democratic Front wins general elections with 70% of vote; charges of fraud and arrests of opposition leaders
1947	October	Communist and Social Democratic Parties unite to form Romanian Workers' Party
	December	Romanian monarchy abolished
1950	June	Party purges 192,000 members
1952	May	Cabinet purge of Ana Pauker and followers
1958	July	Soviet troops withdrawn
1962	March	Romania opposes CMEA division of labor
1964	April	Gheorghiu-Dej offers to mediate Sino-Soviet dispute
1965	Summer	Gheorghiu-Dej dies, succeeded as Party leader by Nicolae Ceauşescu; new Party statute and national constitution asserting Romanian independence; industrial development stressed
1966	May	Ceauşescu attacks Soviet seizure of Bukovina, existence of blocs
1967	January	Romania establishes relations with Federal Republic of Germany
1969	June	Romania openly opposes Brezhnev Doctrine
	August	Nixon visits Romania
1971	November	Ceauşescu calls for role of party to be strengthened to combat liberalizing trends in culture and art
1973	June	Ceauşescu first East European leader to visit FRG
1974	April	Romania opposes Soviet proposals at world meeting of Communist parties
	July	Receives world bank loan and announces greater control of economy, investment, and foreign trade
1977	August	Miners in Jiu Valley strike over living conditions
1978	November	Romania refuses to contribute $923 million to Warsaw Pact
1980	March	Ceauşescu criticizes USSR invasion of Afghanistan

1985	May	Ceauşescu proposes freeze on military expenditures
	October	Political Executive Committee declares state of emergency due to energy crisis
1987	May	Gorbachev visits
	December	10,000 people riot in Braşov
1989	Dec 16-17	Demonstrations in Timişoara are brutally suppressed
	December 21	Ceauşescu loses control of rally in Bucharest as word of Timişoara massacre spreads
	December 22	Army joins protestors against Ceauşescu, he and his wife are forced to flee; the National Salvation Front takes over; *Securitate* forces loyal to Ceauşescu counterattack later that day
	December 25	Ceauşescu executed; *Securitate* resistance ends in following days
1990	January 12	The National Salvation Front Council announced the abolition of the Securitate of the Ministry of Internal Affairs for abuses under Ceauşescu
	February 6	The Romanian currency is devaluated by more than 58%
	February 10	The head of the Romanian security forces, the Securitate, and 21 other former high ranking officials are indicted on charges of genocide against the Romanian people
	Feb 16-17	Nearly 3000 junior and middle level military officers force the resignation of the Romanian Defense Minister and thousands demonstrate against the continued presence of former Communist Party officials in the National Salvation Front government under President Ion Iliescu
	February 22	10,000 people demonstrate in Timişoara against the government as the government passes a decree to prevent attacks on government and party buildings
	March 5	Communist monument to Lenin and to Petru Groza, the first communist leader of Romania, are torn down
	March 8-10	More than 10,000 coal miners and train drivers go on strike for increased wages; Prime Minister Petre Roman also announces the intention of the government to create a market economy within three years
	March 13	In a signed agreement, the US agrees to provide Romania $80,000,000 in food and agricultural aid to Romania; elections are set for May 20
	March 17	More than 8,000 students demonstrate in Bucharest against the government
	March 20	Ethnic tensions worsen in Tîrgu Mureş as hundreds are injured in clashes between Romanian and Hungarian demonstrators; the government declares a state of emergency and brings in tanks to quell the unrest
	March 28	More than 1000 military conscripts protest in Bucharest against the extension of their time of service
	April 1	Thousands of opposition protestors demonstrate against President Iliescu and the continued presence of communist party influence in the government
	April 10	The government announces that economic performance for the first quarter of 1990 was down 18% from the same period last year
	April 21-5	Rival opposition parties clash in several towns as demonstrations against the government once again boil over in Bucharest
	May 6	For the first time in 50 years the Soviet Union opened its borders with Romania allowing the reunification of families divided when the border was closed
	May 10	The US ambassador is recalled to protest growing pre-election violence and irregularities in the electoral process
	May 17	Over 100,000 protestors demonstrate in Bucharest on the last day of the electoral campaign pitting the Communist-dominated National Salvation Front against dozens of opposition parties
	May 20	National elections are held amid widespread abuses and intimidation of the opposition parties by the ruling Romanian National Salvation Front
	May 27	10,000 shipping and port workers strike, paralyzing Danube shipping, and the government responds by ordering the navy to take control of some vessels delivering essential raw materials; the US continues its criticism of Romanian election procedures
	June 2-3	The 850,000 member Independent Trade Unions issues a statement contesting the legitimacy of the Communist-run National Confederation of Free Trade Unions of Romania; the opposition Group for Social Dialogue calls on President Iliescu to ban Communist participation in the government
	June 6	The Prosecutor General announces that 30 former Communist Party Executive Committee members will be tried for alleged genocide against the Romanian people
	June 13	Declaring it a fascist coup attempt, President Iliescu orders the violent dispersal of student

	demonstrators in Bucharest calling for him to resign, and he has miners suspected as being members of the Securitate to do the job
June 20	The US announces its intention to boycott the inauguration of Ion Iliescu to protest his role in the suppression of demonstrations in Bucharest before and after the elections; Prime Minister Petre Roman blames members of the *Securitate* for the violence
June 28	The composition of a new government is announced; all but 2 of the 23 cabinet members were senior officials under the Ceauşescu regime
July 1	The Finance Minister declares that Romania needs an estimated $1 billion a year to recover from the economic stagnation under Ceauşescu; the next day, in an illustration of the further clamping down on the opposition in Romania, the opposition Group for Social Dialogue is evicted from its headquarters
July 4	In a show of displeasure over political developments in Romania, the foreign ministers of 24 Western nations declare Romania ineligible for economic assistance; the next day in further disapproval, the US announces Romania will not be granted most favored nation status in an extended three year trade agreement
July 10	By a near unanimous vote the European Parliament condemns Romanian President Iliescu for employing miners to crush student and opposition demonstrations in Bucharest on June 13; the next day the bicameral Romanian parliament announces the adoption of a six-month strike ban; the government also announces the creation of a special police force comprised of former military personnel to aid police during future unrest
July 16	The European Economic Community decides to delay a trade agreement with Romania to protest political repression there
August 3	The government announces the further decline of the Romanian economy and announces sugar rationing to begin August 6
August 20-22	Thousand of industrial workers strike in Braşov claiming the government violated its pledge not to raise prices in return for a six-month strike ban; in Bucharest, hundreds of rock-throwing demonstrators block traffic and clash with baton wielding police
August 25	The army declares its neutrality from political parties, and strikes in Braşov and demonstrations in Bucharest continued
August 27-28	The Mayor of Bucharest announces a ban on demonstrations there to quell growing violence
Sept 7-12	Tension in Braşov escalates as striking miners shout slogans of "Down with Communism" and "Freedom;" Prime Minister Roman also calls the use of miners to quell spring student demonstrations a mistake
September 13	Thousands of workers launch a general strike paralyzing dozens of state enterprises
Sept 17-20	23,000 dock workers strike in Constanţa calling for more rapid implementation of reforms
October 13	The government announces that industrial productivity and industrial output have fallen by 75%, exports by 50%, and investments by 60% over the past year
October 22	The European Economic Community signs a long-delayed trade agreement with Romania, citing improvements in the government's political record
October 24	15,000 people demonstrate in support of the territorial integrity of Soviet Moldavia; the next day the EC announces the transfer of $34,000,000 to aid Romanian orphans
October 29	A city-wide transportation strike paralyzes Bucharest; the government responds by ordering the military to take over vital transportation duties
November 1	The government announces the limited deregulation of prices and the further devaluation of the national currency
November 7	A major new opposition coalition is formed called the Civic Alliance
Nov 11-12	Prices on newsprint rise by 700% as Prime Minister Roman is given special powers to manage the economy by decree for the next six months
November 20	Pro-government supporters in Bucharest clash with anti-government demonstrators critical of Prime Minister Roman's economic reform program
December 1	The new National Day, celebrating the unification of all the Romanian lands of Moldavia, Wallachia, Transylvania, Bessarabia, and Bukovina, is celebrated throughout the country
Dec 16-17	Thousands turn out in Timişoara to commemorate the anniversary of the Revolution as President Iliescu appeals for calm; the Interior Ministry also reports that violent crime has doubled in the past year
Dec 21-22	Thousands rally across the country celebrating the anniversary of the 1989 Revolution

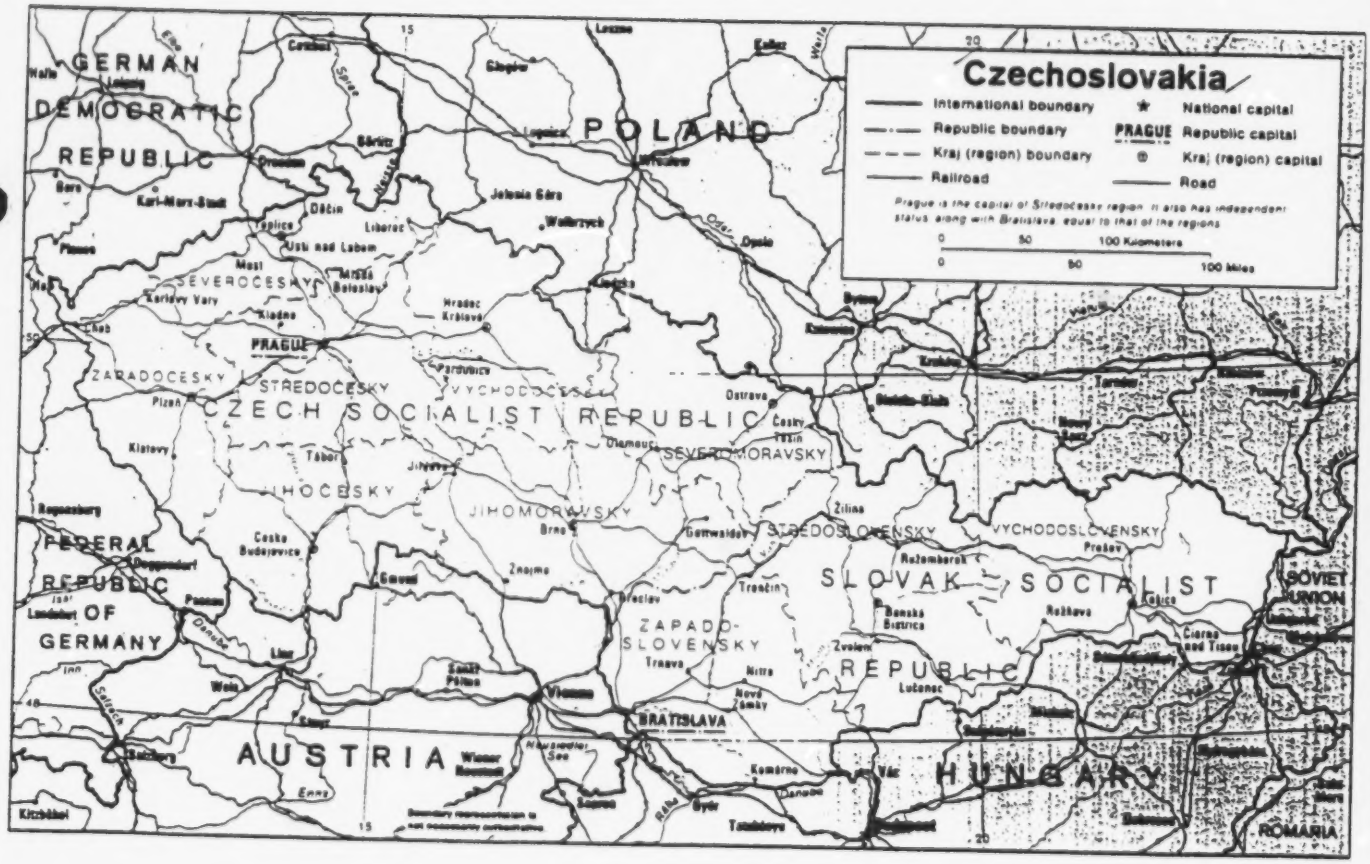
1991	January 12-13	Demonstrations of all kinds continue in Bucharest and across the country in protest of the country's worsening economic situation; the next day the government announces the beginning of comprehensive gasoline rationing
	January 19	In a move to tighten political control over the country, the Supreme Defense Council under the chairmanship of President Iliescu announces its intention to confiscate all weapons held illegally by the civilian population
	February 1	Rationing of hot water and heating begins in Bucharest as supplies are cut by 50% due to an energy shortage
	February 4	Television air time for opposition parties and minority language broadcasts is cut under the pretext of rising costs and the electricity shortage
	February 15	The government announces a new round of price hikes to triple the price of many foodstuffs by April 1
	March 6	Dumitru Mazilu, the human rights expert who sought refuge in Switzerland in January 1990 and who has repeatedly accused Romania's new government of being communists in disguise, is beaten up by two masked men in his Geneva apartment after presenting his latest critical report to the UN Human Rights Commission
	April 1	In keeping with the transition to a market economy, the government substantially raises food prices and devalues the leu, the Romanian currency unit, by 41.6%
	April 5	President Ion Iliescu and Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev sign a friendship and cooperation treaty, valid for 15 years, which emphasizes that Romania and the USSR will not participate in any alliance directed against the other; Iliescu also raises unresolved issues such as the return of $38 billion in Romanian gold, part of which had been deposited with czarist Russia for safekeeping and part of which had been confiscated by the USSR,and the return of Serpent's Island
	April 11	The International Monetary Fund approves a $748 million aid package to help Romania's economic program and to meet expected higher energy costs through June 1991
	April 15	The first postcommunist commercial bank opens in Bucharest, named after former tennis champion and now international businessman Ion Ţiriac
	May 21	The government decides to spend $233 million to complete the construction of Nicolae Ceauşescu's almost monumental palace, the House of the Republic, and to use it as the new parliament building
	May 23	The government announces that from June 1 it will suspend adoptions of Romanian children until new, strict adoption procedures are established
	May 25-27	The second congress of Romania's ethnic Hungarian party, the Hungarian Democratic Federation of Romania (HDFR), is held amid tight security in Tîrgu Mureş and elects as its president the moderate Géza Domokos and as vice-president the radical Géza Szőcs, while László Tőkés is elected the party's honorary figurehead
	June 5	An International Labor Organization report on Romanian employment and education states that there is still discrimination against the Hungarian and Gypsy minorities; it urges Romania to implement fair language and educational policies; it also reports an increasing climate of intolerance or racial hatred toward Gypsies
	June 13	Romanian Gypsies ask for international mediation to protect them from what they say is growing violence against the Gypsy minority in Romania
	June 14	Prime Minster Roman rejects proposals from the five main opposition parties for a government of national unity led by a politically neutral prime minister; Teodor Stolojan, head of the National Privatization Agency, introduces privatization bill in the parliament, which would affect some 30% of Romania's state-owned enterprises
	June 21	The ruling NSF and Chief Rabbi Moses Rosen express concern over growing anti-Semitism in Romania following a series of aggressive articles in nationalistic publications
	July 5	Civic Alliance, an umbrella organization for a number of extraparliamentary opposition groups, decides at its national congress to form a political party
	July 15	The Democratic Forum of Germans in Romania protests aspects of the law on land ownership and the compulsory use in German schools of Romanian for teaching Romanian history and geography
	July 31	Floods devastate large parts of Bacău County, killing 71 people, 5,000 animals, and covering some 20,000 acres
	August 5	Japan announces that it will make available to Romania credits up to $100 million to help develop its economy
	August 27	Romania is first country to recognize the independence of former Soviet Moldavia [Moldova]
	September 11	The Romanian Society for the Foundation of a National Independent Television Company is granted

		permission to broadcast on Romanian Television for one hour four days a week
	Sept 25-27	Following a strike of some 52,000 miners in the Jiu Valley September 23-25, an estimated 10,000 miners arrive in Bucharest and attack government headquarters and demand the resignation of Prime Minister Roman and his government and President Iliescu
	September 26	Prime Minister Roman resigns
	September 29	Calm returns to Bucharest as Jiu Valley miners return home and President Iliescu appoints Teodor Stolojan, former Finance Minister and head of the National Privatization Agency, as prime minister and asks him to form a new government
	November 4	Transport Minister Traian Basescu announces that Japanese banks will lend Romania $1 billion to modernize its transportation system
	November 11	The Romanian currency unit, the leu, is made convertible, with a single rate of exchange of the leu against foreign currency fixed daily by the National Bank
	November 14	The government more than quadruples the price of gasoline from 30 lei ($0.16) to 120 lei ($0.72) per liter, bringing it into line with world prices
	December 8	A new Romanian constitution, approved by the Constituent Assembly on November 21, is approved in a nationwide referendum by 76% of the participating voters
	December 11	Romania's first independent national television station, SOTI, goes on the air for the first time, broadcasting 1-2 hours a night over the Romanian state television channel
	December 21	President Iliescu, addressing a joint session of the two chambers of the Romanian parliament, calls for negotiations with Ukraine on the status of former Romanian territories now incorporated in Ukraine, i.e. northern Bukovina, Ţinutul Herţa, and southern Bessarabia
1992	January 7-14	The first national census in 15 years is held; there are charges of fraud in connection with counting the ethnic and religious minorities
	January 20	President Iliescu states that Moldova's reunification with Romania is inevitable but that Romania should not press the issue but rather wait for Moldova to initiate the move toward unification
	January 21	Parliament decides to close *Securitate* files for 40 years, although former victims will be given access to their own files
	January 23	Moldovan embassy opens in Bucharest; Presidents Iliescu and Snegur meet
	February 9	First free local elections since 1937; mayoral and municipal and communal council seats filled
	April 20	Twenty-one former politburo members are sentenced to prison terms from 5 to 16 years
	April 25-27	King Michael visits Romania 45 years after he abdicated and went into exile
	May 19	President Iliescu visits Moldova; he is the first Romanian head of state to visit the region since World War II
	May 10	Thousands rally in Bucharest and other cities on Monarchy Day
	June 22	Presidents of Romania, Moldova and Russia agree on cease-fire in the left-bank Dniester region (like earlier cease-fires it is soon broken)
	August 12	Government agrees to return some Uniate Church property confiscated by the communists; Orthodox hierarchy protests
	August 19-21	World Congress of Hungarians in Budapest causes nationwide debate in Romania; Romanian government sends protest letter to Budapest
	August 25	Romania asks Hungary to extradite Gen. Alexandru Draghici (chief of the *Securitate* during the 1950s and 60s) on murder charges
	September 9	The secretary of state for education, the only Hungarian in the cabinet, is dismissed; no reason is given (education is a particularly important area of state policy for Hungarians, who were subjected to attempts at Romanianization under the Ceauşescu regime)
	September 18	After attacks on Romany (Gypsy) refugees in Rostock the German government announces that all Romanian citizens in the country illegally (most of the estimated 60,000 are Romanies) will be sent back
	September 27	Parliamentary and presidential elections; amid widespread allegations of fraud the leftist Democratic National Salvation Front is the biggest winner with about 28 percent of the seats in parliament
	October 11	Ion Iliescu wins presidential runoff election
	October 16	New parliament convenes
	October 25	Hungarian Democratic Federation of Romania conference adopts declaration demanding "self-administration" for Hungarian communities and stating that Hungarians will neither emigrate nor assimilate
	October 30	Ion Iliescu sworn in as president

	November 19	New government formed under Prime Minister Nicolae Vacaroiu; half of new ministers are from Democratic National Salvation Front, the strongest party following the elections in September, Vacaroiu himself is an independent
	November 26	Emil Constantinescu elected chairman of Democratic Convention of Romania, the main opposition umbrella group
	December 10	Romanian Commodities Exchange reopens after 63 years
	December 14	Romania and Moldova sign bilateral military agreement
1993	January 7	National Salvation Front leader and former Prime Minister Petre Roman announces formation of a shadow cabinet
	January 13	Ultranationalist Party of Romanian National Unity urges ban on Hungarian Democratic Federation of Romania
	January 21	National Salvation Front finds bugs in its offices, blames government
	January 26	Several hundred former communists celebrate Ceauşescu's 75th birthday at his graveside
	January 29	Chairman of parliament and 3 senior members of Presidium resign in face of majority demands for referendum on unification with Moldova
	February 1	Romania becomes associate member of EC, guest member of Council of Europe
	February 6	German government announces it will bring back 485 tons of German toxic waste illegally shipped to Romania in early 1992
	February 16	President Iliescu denies Romanian is violating UN embargo of Yugoslavia, claims Romanian losses in the embargo total $7 billion--Romania and Yugoslavia had been seizing each other's ships throughout late 1992 and early 1993, Romania trying to enforce the blockade and Yugoslavia trying to run it

SLOVAK REPUBLIC

Area: 18,298 sq. miles
Population: 5.3 million
Capital: Bratislava
Language: Slovak
Religion: Roman Catholicism
Unit of Currency: Koruna



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I. ALPHABET AND LANGUAGE

Slovak is a West Slavic language similar to, but distinct from, Czech. Like Czech, it is written in the Latin alphabet and has a soft, musical intonation. Spelling is phonetic, with various diacriticals placed above the familiar Latin letters to indicate special sounds. The letters a,b,d,e,f,g,h,i,k,l,m,n,o,p,s,t,v and z are similar to their English counterparts. Among those which differ are ä (wait), c (ts as in nets), č (bench), ch (as in Scottish *loch*), j (y as in yes), ŕ (rolled as in Scottish), š (push), u (suit), y (kit) and ž (measure).

II. GEOGRAPHY

The Slovak Republic is located in East-Central Europe. It borders the Czech Republic, Poland, Ukraine, Hungary and Austria. Its natural boundaries are the Carpathian Mountains in the north and the Danube River in the southwest. Much of the country is mountainous, the land becoming flatter as one moves south. The capital, Bratislava, is located in the Danubian plain, about 60 kilometers (35 miles) from Vienna. Major cities include Bratislava (435,499), Košice (232,253) and Žilina (96,418). Owing to the more agricultural character of Slovakia, environmental damage in the republic since World War II has not been as catastrophic as in the Czech Republic, but is nevertheless a significant problem. In 1977 the communist governments of Czechoslovakia and Hungary began construction of a huge dam and hydroelectric complex on the Danube River at Gabčikovo-Nagymaros. The project is widely held to be ecologically unsound, and Hungary cancelled the agreement in 1992 and began dismantling its Nagymaros installation. The Slovak government continues to insist that it needs the power from the Gabčikovo plant, although it has agreed to submit the matter to international arbitration.

III. HISTORY

Early History. Available evidence suggests that Slavs settled the area between the Carpathian Mountains and the Danube River between the fourth and seventh centuries A.D. By the ninth century, parts of present-day Bohemia, Moravia, Slovakia, Poland, and Hungary comprised the Great Moravian empire. This empire, about which little is known, reached its height under Princes Mojmir and Rostislav, who fought a constant struggle against Germanic invasion. In 863, Rostislav accepted Christianity. He was later overthrown by his nephew Svätopluk (d. 894), whose reign was to witness the first incursions by the nomadic Hungarians. By 906, the Hungarians had destroyed the Moravian state, and established a hold on Slovakia which was to last a thousand years.

In 1000 the Hungarian leader Stephen (later canonized) was recognized as king of Hungary by Pope Sylvester II. Thenceforth Slovakia, like Transylvania, Croatia and other territories inhabited by non-Hungarians, was considered by Hungarians to be part of the "Lands of the Crown of St. Stephen," the indivisible Hungarian state. In 1526 the Hungarian crown passed into the hands of the Austrian Habsburgs, where it remained until the twentieth century. When the Ottoman Turks overran the rest of Hungary in 1541, Slovakia became the center of Hungarian political and cultural life and a rallying point for Habsburg loyalists. With Budapest in Turkish hands, Habsburg monarchs were crowned kings of Hungary in the Slovakian city of Bratislava (German: Pressburg), a practice which continued even after the Turks were finally expelled in 1699.

Although the wars of religion that convulsed the Czech lands in the 1400s touched Slovakia too, Protestantism itself was most successful among the Germans of the towns and among the Hungarian nobles. The Slovak peasants remained for the most part faithful to Catholicism. A small minority did adopt Lutheranism, however, and their descendants were to play a disproportionately large role in the Slovak literary revival which began in the late 1700s.

The Slovak National Revival. The late 1700s witnessed an awakening of national consciousness among all the peoples of the Hungarian crown. The first Slovak newspaper and the first Slovak novel were both published in 1783. A Catholic priest, Anton Bernolák, published the first Slovak grammar in 1787. In the 1800s Ľudovit Štúr created an orthography and firmly established Slovak as a distinct literary language. He was opposed by Jan Kollár and Pavel Šafárik, Slovaks who wished to see Czech adopted as the common language of the Czechs and Slovaks.

The rebirth of the Slovak language took place against a background of steadily increasing ethnic tension in the Hungarian lands. Beginning in the 1830s, Hungarian leaders pursued a policy of "magyarization" (from the Hungarians' self-designation *magyar*), that is, making Hungarian the sole language of public life in every sphere. During the revolutions of 1848-49, Slovak delegates joined representatives of the Habsburg empire's other Slavic peoples at the Pan-Slav Congress in Prague, where appeals were made to the Emperor to give Slavic languages the same rights as German and Hungarian. No such concessions were forthcoming, however, and Vienna restored order by force. In 1867, a political crisis forced the Habsburgs to change their empire from a unitary monarchy to a dual one, and the Hungarians were given a free hand in their internal affairs. The Hungarian parliament passed a Nationalities Law in 1868 which guaranteed all subjects of the Hungarian crown the right to be educated in and use their native tongues, but it remained a dead letter. The tempo of magyarization increased; Slovak publications were closed, Catholic and Protestant churches were magyarized, and the few remaining Slovak-language schools were virtually wiped out.

The Czechoslovak Republic. The end of World War I and the collapse of the Habsburg empire led to the creation of the Czechoslovak Republic. At a conference in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, Slovak émigrés signed a pact with Czech leaders to create a federal state that would unite the Czechs and Slovaks. On October 28, 1918, independence was declared from the Habsburg empire. In addition to Slovakia and the Czech lands of Bohemia and Moravia, the new republic included Ukrainian Carpatho-Ruthenia. Like the other new states in East-Central Europe, government was by means of a parliamentary system modelled on that of Great Britain. In Czechoslovakia between the World Wars, however, no one party ever won a majority. A multi-party coalition governed throughout the period. The philosopher and university professor Tomaš G. Masaryk became the first president of the republic. He retired in 1935 and was succeeded by Edvard Beneš.

The Czechoslovak experiment was only partly successful. On the one hand, Czechoslovakia was the only state in East-Central Europe which did not become a dictatorship during the interwar period. On the other hand, the old dream of welding Czechs and Slovaks into a single nation proved impossible to achieve. After a thousand years as a Hungarian backwater, Slovakia was economically and culturally behind the Czech lands. Slovaks resented the Czech officials who were sent out from Prague to replace the expelled Hungarians, and Czechs regarded the Slovaks as stubborn and backward. Mostly agricultural Slovakia suffered disproportionately from the worldwide depression of the 1930s, although the state did carry

out a program of massive and much-needed land reform. Political parties demanding greater autonomy for Slovakia, of which the most powerful was the Slovak People's Party of Msgr. Andrej Hlinka, gained popularity throughout the interwar period.

Perhaps the most important issue in interwar Czechoslovakia was that of the minorities: 3.3 million Germans and 700,000 Hungarians who lived in areas contiguous to their homelands. Hungary's dissatisfaction with the Trianon Treaty of 1920 (which set the borders of the new Hungarian state) was particularly ominous for Slovaks, as Hungarian irredentists demanded the return of some or even all of Slovakia.

World War II. The Munich Agreement of September 29, 1938 abandoned Czechoslovakia to Nazi Germany. In November, Hitler gave parts of southern Slovakia to Hungary. On March 14, 1939, under pressure from Germany, Slovakia declared itself independent. The following day, Germany occupied the Czech lands. Hungary later took over Ruthenia and the eastern section of Slovakia. President Beneš formed a government-in-exile in London.

What remained of Slovakia, although nominally independent, was in fact a Nazi puppet state. Under the presidency of Msgr. Hlinka's successor, Father Tiso, Slovakia once again became a quiet backwater, suffering much less at the hands of the Germans than the Czech lands. An uprising which began in Banská Bystrica at the end of August 1944 was suppressed two months later, advancing Soviet troops failing to reach Slovakia in time. A provisional Czechoslovak government was set up in the Slovakian town of Košice on April 3, 1945; Soviet troops liberated Bratislava the next day.

After the liberation of Czechoslovakia in 1945, the country was again led by President Beneš, who attempted to cooperate with both the USSR and the west. A new cabinet was formed which included members of the Communist party. The communists actually won the first post-war general election, but public opinion turned against them after the USSR forced Czechoslovakia to refuse Marshall Plan aid from the US. Meanwhile, the communists were purging the police of uncooperative officials, and when the non-communist members of the cabinet resigned in protest over these purges in February 1948, the communists seized control of the state.

1948 Communist Coup. The communist *coup d'etat* was a particularly heavy blow for Slovakia. Slovak autonomy, although guaranteed in the constitution, was severely limited, and Slovak leaders were purged from the party. The structure of Czechoslovakia was remodeled along Soviet lines. The Communist party retained a monopoly of political power; President Beneš resigned in June. Czechoslovakia during this period exemplified rigid Stalinism. Immediately after the takeover, laws were passed to abolish the last remnants of liberal democracy by reorganizing the organs of local government, revamping the judicial system and establishing a totalitarian state whose goal was the complete socialization of the economy. The national assembly held only brief sessions for the purpose of unanimously approving the government's decisions. The cabinet was dominated by politburo members, and party committees were established to supervise the bureaucracy at all levels. The revised 1960 constitution echoed the contemporary Soviet constitution in making Marxism-Leninism the official state ideology and reserving the leading role in society for the Communist party. Approximately 80,000 Czechs and Slovaks emigrated because of the Communist takeover. Another 100,000 were sent to Soviet labor camps between 1944 and 1949.

The Spring Thaw. Slovak nationalism asserted itself again after Stalin's death. Demands from Slovaks for more autonomy, together with a decline in economic growth and the rehabilitation of some of the victims of Stalinism, led to a severe political crisis between 1963 and 1968. In January 1968, President Antonin Novotny was replaced by Alexander Dubček, a Slovak. Dubček attempted to institute what he called "socialism with a human face," that is, a combination of socialist economic security with democratic civil liberties. The Action Program of 1968 abolished censorship and reviewed the rehabilitation law, making it more liberal. Plans were laid to make the Slovak party and government more independent of Prague. To communist leaders both within Czechoslovakia and in the Warsaw Pact it seemed as if the Czechoslovak party was losing control of the country. On August 21, 1968, the Soviet Union (along with other Warsaw Pact countries) invaded Czechoslovakia, justifying this action by issuing the *Brezhnev Doctrine*, by which the Soviet Union reserved the right to intervene in the internal affairs of another socialist country if it believed socialism was in danger there. The liberalizations of the "Prague Spring" were reversed, and Dubček was eventually forced to resign. Gustav Husák, a hard-line communist, replaced him.

Brezhnev Freeze. From 1968 to 1989, relations between the party and people of Czechoslovakia were largely determined by an informal, unspoken "deal," according to the terms of which the people refrained from opposition political activity and were rewarded with a reasonably high (by Soviet bloc norms) standard of living. The government continued to persecute dissidents such as playwright Václav Havel, and showed little tolerance for opposition groups and publications. Charter 77, the most important of these reformist organizations, was formed in 1977 by a group of Czech and Slovak intellectuals who signed a petition in which they aired their grievances against the Husák regime. Many of the signers were subsequently arrested or professionally demoted but they continued to meet through the 1980's. Most later played leading roles in the upheavals leading to the collapse of the communist regime in 1989.

The 1970s and 80s represented a return to the Soviet model of economic and political development. Although there was some talk of reorienting the economy towards consumer goods and decentralizing the administration, Czechoslovakia continued on its post-1968 course well into the Gorbachev era of liberalization and economic decentralization. Miloš Jakeš, who took over the Communist party in December of 1987, removed reform-minded rivals and tried to enforce unanimity in a politburo sorely divided over the issue of reform. By the late 1980s the economy was in obvious trouble, and attempts at economic reform without political reform had clearly failed.

The Gentle Revolution of 1989 to Present. Even after Gorbachev's visit to Czechoslovakia in April 1987 brought cheering crowds into the streets, the Czechoslovak communist leadership maintained its hard-line opposition to political reform. By Fall 1989, however, non-communist governments had taken power in both Poland and Hungary, and Czechoslovakia had become a transit zone for East Germans trying to escape to West Germany. In November, a student ceremony to commemorate a youth killed by the Nazi occupiers turned into a pro-democracy demonstration which ended with unarmed students being beaten by riot police. In Slovakia, the group Public Against Violence was formed as a counterpart to the Prague-based Civic Forum; both joined students and actors in orchestrating a series of strikes which crippled the country and led to the resignation of the communist leadership. The first non-communist cabinet since

1948 was sworn in on December 10. Dubček, brought out of retirement to a hero's welcome in Prague, was elected chairman of the parliament on December 28, and on the following day Civic Forum leader Havel was sworn in as president.

But the end of the Gentle Revolution (so called in Slovakia for its exceptional lack of violence; Czechs prefer the name "Velvet Revolution") was also the end of the common Communist enemy, opposition to which had united Czechs and Slovaks to an unprecedented degree. On April 20, 1990, parliament changed the country's name to "The Czech and Slovak Federal Republic" at the insistence of Slovak leaders, who feared a return to the political centralization of the communist period. Throughout 1990 and 1991 there were demonstrations in favor of independence in Slovak cities, although public opinion polls continued to show that most Slovaks favored a federal system. Of particular concern to Slovaks were federal and Czech leaders' plans for rapid economic reforms, which many feared would be more painful for Slovakia. The general elections of June 1992 were regarded by most people in both republics as a referendum on the federal union, and after separatist parties won significant victories in both republics, talks began on the breakup of the country. In what has come to be regarded as typical Czechoslovak style, the split was negotiated and carried out bloodlessly. At midnight on December 31, 1992, the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic ceased to exist and the Slovak Republic was born.

At this writing, Slovakia is still led by Vladimir Meciar's Movement for a Democratic Slovakia, which holds a majority in the Slovak parliament following the Czechoslovak general elections of June 1992. Relations with the Czech Republic are extremely close. The two states are united in a customs union, and both have adopted citizenship laws which make obtaining citizenship easier for a citizen of the other state than for other foreigners. Like the Czech Republic, Slovakia is still grappling with its communist past: with environmental devastation, with a faltering economy, and with accusations of collaboration with the communist secret police which continue to be leveled periodically at various high-ranking government officials. Relations with Hungary are stable but tense, with Hungary still demanding the shut-down of the controversial dam at Gabčikovo. About half a million Hungarians live in Slovakia; there are also substantial groups of Slovaks in Hungary, and both states are waiting to see how their co-nationals will fare in their new, democratic homelands.

IV. ECONOMY

Slovakia missed out on the remarkable development of trade and manufacturing which made the Czech lands one of the most important commercial and industrial areas in Europe from the late Middle Ages onward. When Czechoslovakia was created in 1918, Slovakia was overwhelmingly agricultural, the only significant industrial activity being mining, which the Prague government was not able to support to the extent the Hungarians had. After 1948, a series of communist five-year plans emphasized industrial development in Slovakia, but the disparity with the Czech lands persists to the present day.

From 1945 to 1989, economic development in Czechoslovakia went through five distinct periods. The 1945-46 period witnessed a wave of nationalization, and preparations for the introduction of a planned economy, though industrial employment in the state sector was only 57.7 percent of the total, and private industry still predominated in consumer goods and in

domestic and foreign trade. The 1947-48 period was one of reconstruction and a second wave of nationalization, which brought 96.4 percent of industrial production into state hands, increased investment to 1/2 of national income, and shifted the industrial emphasis to heavy industry. The third period was that of the first five-year plan, 1949-53. Industrial output was increased 57 percent in order to establish heavy industry as the basis of the socialist economy. Sharp imbalances emerged, however, as a result of the stress put on heavy industries and collectivization in agriculture, and of declines in industrial output. The so-called "new course," introduced during the fourth period (1954-55), raised the priority given to light industry and agriculture and placed limits on the state's pursuit of autarky. The fifth period, from 1956 to the 1980s, saw the reestablishment of heavy industry's preeminence. Arms production, a major industry in Czechoslovakia, has become a problem for the new governments, who must balance moral considerations with the imperative of providing jobs. This is particularly true for Slovakia, where most of Czechoslovakia's weapons plants were built.

Czechoslovakia began working to establish a market economy in late 1989. Loans from the International Monetary Fund and new laws on privatization during 1990-1992 aided the transition, but both states still suffer from inflation, fuel and food shortages, and unemployment. The Slovak government recently slowed the process of privatization, and has announced that it will continue, even increase, the production of arms for export.

Among Slovakia's most important industries are hydroelectric power in the east and footwear manufacturing around the city of Gottwaldov. Agriculturally, the country is divided into two chief areas: the Danube region of grain, sugarbeet, and livestock production with areas of specialized crops, and the eastern beef-cattle region. Beginning in the 1960s, pig-raising and corn and tobacco production were emphasized in the southern foothills.

VI. RELIGION

Slovakia was always regarded as the more traditionally religious half of Czechoslovakia. The Slovaks are overwhelmingly Roman Catholic. The east-central region has been an important center of Protestantism since the Reformation, and a small population of Uniates (Catholics who practice Orthodox rites and customs) survives in the north-east. Under the Czechoslovak communist regime, churches were administered by the state and clergy were state employees. Church officials who opposed the regime were persecuted during the 1950s and early 1960s. In recent years, Czech and Slovak youth showed increased interest in religion, perhaps because religious activity was one way of expressing hostility toward the government. After the Gentle Revolution churches were freed of state control. Pope John Paul II visited the country, and diplomatic relations were restored between the Vatican and Czechoslovakia. No legal basis has been established for the Vatican's relations with Slovakia, but they will certainly be close.

VII. CHRONOLOGY

AD 300-600	Slavs settle in Slovakia
9th Century	Height of Great Moravian empire
863	Rostislav of Moravia accepts Christianity

903-906		Moravian empire collapses under Hungarian and German attacks; Slovakia absorbed by Hungary
1000		St. Stephen crowned king of Hungary
1526		Hungarian crown falls to Austrian Habsburgs
1541		Ottoman Turks overrun Hungary proper
1699		Turks expelled
1780s		Slovak literary revival begins
1830s		First "Magyarization" laws passed
1867		Habsburg empire becomes Dual Monarchy
1918		Czechoslovak Republic formed
1918-38		Czechoslovakia survives politically and economically in spite of Czech-Slovak conflict, pressure from Hungary and Germany over ethnic minorities, and worldwide depression
1938		Munich Pact forces surrender of Sudetenland to Germany and First Vienna Award gives part of southern Slovakia to Hungary
1939	March 14	Slovakia becomes an independent state; Eastern Slovakia and Ruthenia occupied by Hungary, Czech lands occupied by Germany
1944	August-October	Slovak National Uprising
1945	April 3	Provisional Czechoslovak government set up at Košice; Soviets liberate Bratislava next day
	December	US and Soviet troops evacuate newly liberated Czechoslovakia
1946	May	Communist party wins 36 percent of vote in election; becomes largest party in new Czechoslovak parliament
	August	New Slovak cabinet formed with Gustav Husák at head
1947	July	Czechoslovak government accepts Marshall Plan; declines two days later under Soviet pressure
1948	February	Non-communist ministers resign, Klement Gottwald forms communist-dominated cabinet
	March	Nationalization of industry begins
	May	Communist-dominated National Front wins election; Beneš resigns
1949	October	Widespread arrests signal beginning of purge of "bourgeois elements"
1953	March	Gottwald dies
	September	Stalinists purged by Novotny for political mistakes
1965	November	13th Party Congress admits serious errors in economic management
1967	June	Writers' congress criticizes regime
	December	Novotny dismissed by Presidium

1968	January	Alexander Dubček replaces Novotny as head of party; beginning of "Prague Spring"; Warsaw Pact allies express concern
	April	Action Program details political and economic reforms
	June	"Two Thousand Words" statement made by leading intellectuals
	August	Warsaw Pact invasion; Dubček reinstated after USSR fails to form a government
	September	Brezhnev Doctrine asserts Soviet Union's obligation to "defend socialism"
	October	USSR-Czech agreement on stationing of troops
1969	January	2000 students protest, issue "Prague Manifesto" condemning Warsaw Pact intervention; Self-immolation of Prague student Jan Palach as protest against invasion
	March	Husák replaces Dubček; violent demonstrations result
	May	Regime bans pro-reform weeklies
	August	Three days of unrest mark anniversary of 1968 Warsaw Pact invasion
1970	June	Dubček expelled from Czechoslovak Communist Party
	December	Centralization measures reduce authority of Czech and Slovak regional governments
1972	July	Trials of 46 Dubček supporters for subversive activity
1973	February	Amnesty declared for those who fled in 1968
1974	July	Security forces authorized to disregard suspects' civil rights
	August	Works of 300 dissident writers banned from libraries
1977	January	"Charter 77" on non-observance of human rights published and signed by 240 Czechoslovak intellectuals
1979	October	Charter 77 dissidents imprisoned
1986	May	17th Czech Party Congress resists Gorbachev's prompting on reforms
	September	"Jazz Section" group arrested as part of a general crackdown on intellectuals
1987	January	State-owned companies given greater autonomy
	February	Regime criticizes Gorbachev's reforms
	April	Crowds cheer as Gorbachev visits Czechoslovakia
	May	Jazz Section members sentenced
	December	Miloš Jakeš replaces Husák
1989	January	Thousands peacefully protest on 20th anniversary of Jan Palach's death; police use water cannons, tear gas and dogs; playwright Václav Havel among eight activists arrested for attempting to lay flowers at spot where Palach committed suicide
	February	Havel nominated for Nobel Peace Prize by US Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe; Havel sentenced to 9 months in prison
	May	Havel released from prison after serving half of term; despite Czechoslovak government objections, an interview with Alexander Dubček is shown on Hungarian television
	July	Over 200,000 Catholics participate in an annual pilgrimage to Levoča in Eastern Slovakia
	August	Václav Havel arrested and held for eleven hours; homes of four Slovak human rights activists are searched, two activists are detained; between 2000 and 10,000 people demonstrate in Prague on the anniversary of the Warsaw Pact invasion. 370 people are arrested after police break up the march
	September	East Germans begin taking refuge in West German embassy in Prague
	October	Havel detained by police, taken to hospital with a serious respiratory problem
	November 1	Havel is sent home from hospital
	November 12	Jakeš tells Communist youth conference that party will not tolerate street protests or relax control of the country

	November 17	Authorized rally in Prague to commemorate 50th anniversary of death of student Jan Opletal, killed by the Nazis, turns into pro-democracy demonstration by 50,000 people and largest anti-government rally since 1968. Protest is broken up by police with (officially) 17 people injured and 143 arrested
	November 18	Students and actors call for one-week boycott of theater performances and university classes plus two-hour general strike on November 27 to protest police brutality on Nov. 17
	November 19	200,000 people demonstrate demanding resignation of Jakeš and protesting death of student Martin Smid in Nov. 17th demonstration; opposition groups coalesce into Civic Forum (Czech lands) and Public Against Violence (Slovakia), demand resignation of Communist leaders
	November 24	Jakeš resigns and is replaced by Karl Urbanek; Alexander Dubček returns to Prague and addresses the crowds
	November 27	Millions of Czechs and Slovaks walk off their jobs and into the street at noon, bringing the country to a standstill
	November 29	Parliament promises to strip the constitution of language giving the Communist party a dominant role in society
	December 1	New Communist party politburo states that 1968 Soviet-led invasion was wrong; Gorbachev acknowledges that Czechoslovak liberalization movement in 1968 was result of yearning for democracy
	December 3	New cabinet including non-Communists is rejected by the opposition
	December 7	Prime Minister Ladislav Adamec resigns and is replaced by his deputy Marian Calfa
	December 10	President Husák resigns after swearing in first non-communist cabinet in 41 years
	December 28	Dubček is elected chairman of the Czechoslovak parliament
	December 29	Havel is elected president by parliament
1990	January 1	Havel declares general amnesty for about 20,000 political prisoners
	January 16	Ceremony commemorating death of Jan Palach is held; first round of talks on Soviet troop pull-out end
	February 1	Secret police abolished
	February 17	Former president Gustav Husák, former prime minister Lubomir Strougal, and 20 other former party leaders are expelled from Czechoslovak Communist Party
	February 26	Havel meets with Gorbachev in Moscow; troop withdrawal agreement signed which calls for Soviet withdrawal from Czechoslovakia by June 1991
	March 14	Compulsory military service is dropped from 24 to 18 months, and alternative service will be provided
	March 29	After weeks of debate, Federal Assembly changes name of country from Czechoslovak Socialist Republic to Czechoslovak Federal Republic
	April 7	Seventeen political parties register to compete in elections for the Federal Assembly
	April 20	Country changes its name again to Czech and Slovak Federal Republic"
	April 22	Pope John Paul II visits Bratislava, Prague, and Velehrad
	May 6	Ceremony marks liberation of Plzeň by US forces in 1945
	June 8	Parliamentary elections; Czech Civic Forum and Slovak Public Against Violence win
	June 27	Federal Assembly opens; Dubček is re-elected chairman; new federal, Czech and Slovak governments are sworn in
	July 3	Prime Minister Marian Calfa outlines economic reform plan that will replace centrally planned economy with free market over two years
	July 5	Václav Havel is re-elected president for two years
	July 9	Consumer prices of some foodstuffs increase by 25 percent
	July 19	Gasoline prices rise by 50 percent because of decreased petroleum imports from the Soviet Union
	August 1	Radio Free Europe begins broadcasts from Prague
	August 26	Thousands of Slovaks rally in Ružomberok in honor of Msgr. Hlinka, founder of Slovak People's Party and advocate of Slovak autonomy until his death in 1939
	September 16	British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher visits, apologizes for Munich agreement of 1938
	September 19	Czechoslovakia's membership is restored after thirty-seven years in the International

		Monetary Fund (IMF)
	October 25	Slovak parliament passes law making Slovak the official language; federal assembly passes a law on the privatization of state-run shops and small businesses
	November 16	The federal assembly nationalizes Communist party assets, estimated at $368 million
	December 11	Public opinion poll in Slovakia shows 53 percent favor federal system, 26 percent a confederation, and 5 percent an independent state
	December 20	Budget is approved for 1991 that may cause 5-7 percent rise in unemployment and 30 percent inflation; GNP expected to drop by 5 percent
1991	January 1	In his New Year's message, Havel says "we are finding out that what looked like a neglected house a year ago is, in fact, a ruin."
	January 3	Prices increase 20-100 percent across the board
	January 7	IMF approves 4-year, $1.78 billion credit package to aid transition to market economy
	January 9	A new Bill of Rights and Liberties is passed
	February 21	Czechoslovakia joins the Council of Europe
	February 23	Civic Forum votes to split into two factions
	March 13	Volkswagen signs a joint-venture agreement with the Bratislava automobile plant BAZ
	March 22	10 parliamentary deputies named as secret police collaborators
	June 21	Last Soviet troops leave Czechoslovakia
	June 28	COMECON disbands
	July 1	Warsaw Pact disbands at Prague summit
	September 8	Pro-Communist groups banned
	October 13	US returns draft of Czechoslovak 1918 independence declaration from Library of Congress
	October 22	Havel and Bush sign joint declaration of US-Czechoslovak relations; Bush rejects Czechoslovak associate membership in NATO
	October 28	On National Day, Havel jeered by egg-throwing Slovak separatists in Bratislava
	November 6	Federal government decides to postpone privatization of country's largest enterprises
	November 12	Czech and Slovak leaders fail to agree at constitutional talks
	November 18	Gustav Husák dies in Bratislava
	November 24	"Light bulb referendum" reveals majority of Czechs and Slovaks favor union
	December 11	Parliament passes law outlawing the spreading of communism or fascism
	December 16	Czechoslovakia becomes associate member of EC
1992	February 9	Czech and Slovak leaders complete treaty on federation
	February 12	Slovak parliament rejects federation; says too many concessions to Czechs
	February 13	Eighteen former communist leaders charged with treason in connection with 1968 Warsaw Pact invasion
	February 18	Proposed Czechoslovak-Russian friendship treaty calls 1968 Soviet invasion "act of violence"
	February 27	Czechoslovak-German friendship treaty signed in Prague
	March 4	Federal Assembly passes law giving citizens access to their secret police files
	March 7	Congress of Slovak political parties calls for Slovak independence
	March 11	Demonstrations in Prague against Czechoslovak-German friendship treaty Demonstrations in Bratislava in favor of Slovak independence
	May 20	German parliament ratifies friendship treaty with Czechoslovakia; many Germans object to treaty because of unresolved issue of compensation for Sudeten Germans expelled from Czechoslovakia after World War II
	June 2	The weekly *Reflex* publishes a list of 130 former secret police officers
	June 5-6	General election. Major winners are Václav Klaus's Civic Democratic Party (in the Czech Republic) and Vladimir Meciar's Movement for a Democratic Slovakia
	June 9	Hungarian parliament repudiates 1977 treaty on Gabčikovo-Nagymaros dam project
	June 18	Miklos Duray, chairman of ethnic Hungarian Coexistence movement says Hungarians will press for autonomy if Slovakia becomes independent
	June 23	Leader says Slovaks in Hungary want independent Slovakia
	June 24	Slovak National Council names new cabinet dominated by Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar's Movement for a Democratic Slovakia

	July 1	Havel approves a new, caretaker federal government New Czech coalition government forms led by Václav Klaus of Civic Democratic Party
	July 3	Havel fails to be reelected president
	July 15	Slovak National Council declares Slovakia's sovereignty
	July 20	Havel resigns as president of Czechoslovakia
	July 22-23	Czech and Slovak Prime Ministers agree to submit to Federal Assembly a proposal that the federation be split up
	August 21	Hungary says it is willing to provide Czechoslovak government with information about high-ranking Hungarian officials involved in the 1968 invasion of Czechoslovakia
	August 26	Czech and Slovak Prime Ministers set date for federation's split at January 1, 1993
	September 1	Dubček fatally injured in car crash Slovak parliament adopts new constitution for republic
	October 8	Federal Assembly passes constitutional amendments transferring many federal powers to the republics
	October 22	EC-brokered Czechoslovak-Hungarian talks on Gabčikovo break down
	October 24	Czechoslovakia begins diverting Danube to Gabčikovo power plant
	October 26	Czech and Slovak leaders agree on future customs union and common currency
	October 28	Czechoslovakia and Hungary agree to submit Gabčikovo dispute to arbitration; Czechoslovakia pledges to stop diverting Danube as of October 31
	October 29	Czech and Slovak Prime Ministers sign agreements defining future relations between soon-to-be independent republics
	November 3	Charter 77 formally ceases activities
	November 6	EC Commission asks Czechoslovakia to stop work on Gabčikovo project on November 21 pending completion of EC-sponsored study; Czechoslovak government agrees to comply
	November 7	Dubček dies
	November 13	Federal Assembly passes law on division of federation property
	November 25	Federal Assembly approves legislation providing legal basis for federation's split
	December 2	Federal Assembly votes to dissolve Czechoslovak Television, Radio, Press Agency and Academy of Sciences
	December 11	Hundreds of Slovaks applying for Czech citizenship every day
	December 15	Slovakia admitted to Council on Security and Cooperation in Europe
	December 16	Slovak parliament creates defense ministry and 35,000-strong army; all Slovaks in Czechoslovak army will have to swear new oath to Slovak Republic or resign
	December 21	Slovak parliament approves 1993 budget for Slovak Republic "Visegrad Triangle" pact signed by Czechoslovakia, Poland and Hungary; all trade barriers to fall by 2001 (grouping to become "Visegrad Quadrangle" after split
	December 26	Applications by Slovaks for Czech citizenship up to 3,000 per day (about 30,000 since early December); Slovaks will be largest ethnic minority in Czech Republic
	December 31	At midnight Central European Time, Czechoslovakia ceases to exist
1993	January 4	Editor and director of government-owned paper *Smena* fired by Meciar for "slandering" government
	January 5	Meciar says Slovakia will increase arms exports
	January 18	First meeting of Czech-Slovak Customs Union Council. Republics empower council to coordinate trade and customs policies, and to represent both states in talks with third parties
	January 19	Slovak Republic admitted to UN as 180th member
	February 4	Four ethnic Hungarian parties submit memo to Council of Europe listing 21 conditions which Slovakia should fulfill before admission to Council
	February 8	Slovakia and Czech Republic begin using separate currencies
	February 15	Michal Kovac of ruling Movement for a Democratic Slovakia elected president by parliament
	February 17	EC-brokered Slovak-Hungarian talks on Gabčikovo project fail; Hungary already dismantling its Nagymaros section

THE SOUTH SLAVS

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BOSNIA AND HERCEGOVINA

Area: 19,736 sq. miles
Population: 4,365,639 (pre-war)
Capital: Sarajevo
Language: Serbo-Croatian
Religion: 44 percent Muslim, 31 percent Orthodox, 17 percent Roman Catholic
Unit of Currency: NA

I. ALPHABETS AND LANGUAGES

The language of Bosnia and Hercegovina is Serbo-Croatian. The western variant of Serbo-Croatian is written in the Latin alphabet, and the eastern in the Cyrillic alphabet. Both variants are used in the country. The sounds of letters in Serbo-Croatian roughly correspond to their English equivalents with the following exceptions: **c** as an English **ts** (cats), **č** as the English **ch** and **ć** as a softer English **ch**, **dj** or **đ** (edge), **e** (met), **i** as an English **ee** (meet), **j** is pronounced as **y** (yes), **lj** (million), **nj** (canyon), **š** as the English **sh**, **u** as an English **oo** (moo), **ž** as **zh** (leisure), and **dž** as a hard English **j** (jeep). Serbo-Croatian was the predominant language in the former Yugoslavia.

II. GEOGRAPHY

Although often referred to simply as Bosnia, the name Bosnia and Hercegovina designates two distinct regions. Hercegovina, or Hum as it was known in earlier times, refers to the southeastern portion of the country and is primarily populated by Croats. Bosnia refers to the rest of the country, and is populated primarily by Muslims, Serbs and a smaller number of Croats.

Geographically, Bosnia and Hercegovina has been a meeting place of great empires. Two empires in particular have exerted enormous influence in this area: the Ottoman and the Hapsburg Empires. Throughout the centuries, both empires viewed Bosnia as a buffer separating them and vied for its control. (This point will be discussed further in the next section.)

Bosnia and Hercegovina is an extremely mountainous region with numerous rivers. The Dinaric Alps, originating in Croatia, extend southward into Bosnia and Hercegovina. The highest mountain peak is Mt. Maglić, at more than 7,200 feet. The mountains are extremely steep and travel through them is difficult. There is only one river which cuts through these mountains, the Neretva, in Hercegovina. Historically, this passage has been of key strategic importance as it provides access to the interior of the country from the Adriatic. As such, it is also a key trade route.

Other important rivers include the Una, the Vrbas, the Bosna, the Sava and the Drina. The Sava River forms the border with Croatia in the northeast and the Drina forms the border with Serbia in the east.

Considerable areas of the country are covered by forest and woodland. This area is rich in game such as deer, bear, wild boar, wolves, partridges and pheasants.

Hercegovina's plentiful rainfall and abundant sunshine creates fertile soil, which allows for the production of three tobacco crops a year. Olive groves and fig trees also grow here.

The largest city is Sarajevo, with a pre-war population of 450,000. Other important cities include Banja Luka, Bihac, Tuzla and Doboj in the north; Jajce, Travnik and Zenica in the

northcentral; and Mostar and Trebinje in Hercegovina.

III. HISTORY

Early history. In the sixth century Serb tribes migrated to the territory of Bosnia. The area was separated from Serbia in the tenth century and had a different history. Bosnia, the name is derived from the Bosna River, seems to have originated as a principality in the area of the Bosna and Vrbas Rivers. The name Hercegovina originated in the 15th century when a powerful Bosnian noble, Stephen Vuksić, gained control of lands in the southern part of Bosnia and gave himself the title of Herceg, or duke in German.

Religious turmoil. From the tenth through the 15th centuries, Bosnia and Hercegovina suffered from constant internal turmoil, largely due to its geographic position between Roman Catholic and Eastern Orthodox religious influence. The situation became even more complicated with the introduction of a heretical Christian cult from Bulgaria called Bogomilism in the 12th century. Bogomilism gained widespread acceptance in the country, particularly among the nobles. Indeed, King Tvrtko, a medieval king, is reported to have converted to Bogomilism when he ruled over an independent Bosnian state.

The Catholic and Eastern Orthodox churches both attempted to convert the Bogomils to their respective faiths, contributing further to the unstable situation in the country.

Thus, the Ottomans were able to overrun Bosnia with ease in 1463 and Hercegovina in 1483. As the faith of the conquerors was Islam they accepted only "People of the Book," or Jews, Christians and Muslims. The Bogomils were forced to convert to one of these religions. Islam was a logical choice, not only because it provided material and professional advantages, but also because there were some similarities between several Bogomil practices and Islam. In actuality, none of the religions had strong followings and there is evidence that even some pagan beliefs and rituals persisted among those who considered themselves Christian. Conversion for most people, therefore, was not strongly resisted.

The Islamized nobles were allowed to keep their land and their feudal privileges. The peasants who accepted Islam were given land free from feudal obligations. The Christian nobles were often killed and Christian peasants persecuted. Early in the 19th century the Christian peasants revolted against the Islamic nobility in a series of uprisings that were bloodily suppressed.

In 1850 the Turkish government put down the Bosnian aristocracy by establishing a centrally-controlled administration. The Christian serfs continued to rebel and by 1875 both Bosnia and Hercegovina were in a state of general revolt. In 1876 Serbia and Montenegro declared war on Turkey in support of the revolt. The following year Russia entered the war on the side of the Bosnians in order to gain more influence in the Balkans.

The Turks were defeated in 1878 and under the terms of the peace agreement dictated by Russia, Bosnia and Hercegovina would have autonomy.

Austrian administration. Fearing the growing influence of Russia in the Balkans, the Hapsburg and British governments called the Congress of Berlin in July 1878 to revise the Treaty of San Stefano. Bosnia and Hercegovina was placed under the administration of Austria-Hungary, which immediately undertook reforms to modernize the system of administration in the country. In 1908 Austria-Hungary formally annexed Bosnia and Hercegovina.

The local population was denied self-rule. Instead, administrators from other parts of the Monarchy were brought in to administer the country. Material conditions improved considerably, but divisions among the main ethnic groups began to grow.

Many of the Catholics wished to remain tied to the monarchy, while the Orthodox Serbs wanted to be united with Serbia. The Muslim population was mixed, generally fearing both proposals. University students formed a secret society, Mlada Bosna (Young Bosnia) that promoted the unification of all the South Slav lands in an independent state. One of the members of this group was a Serb named Gavrilo Princip. In 1914 he assassinated Archduke Franz Ferdinand, heir to the throne of Austria-Hungary, during a state visit to Sarajevo.

The monarchy, believing Serbia was involved in the assassination, then issued an unacceptable ultimatum to Serbia, that when rejected, led to World War I.

(SEE HISTORY OF YUGOSLAVIA for a continuation)

IV. GOVERNMENT, POLITICS AND ECONOMY

Independence. A referendum on the independence of Bosnia and Hercegovina was held February 28-March 1, 1992. More than 66 percent of the population voted in the referendum, with 99.4 percent voting in favor of independence. The Serbs boycotted the vote.

On March 27 the Bosnian Serbs proclaimed their own constitution; shortly after the campaign to cleanse non-Serbs from most of the territory of the country began.

On April 6 and 7, Bosnia and Hercegovina was recognized as an independent state by the European Community and the United States.

When the Bosnians declared independence they had no army. In contrast, the Serbs possessed one of the largest militaries in all of Europe, although its personnel was generally regarded as undisciplined. It is important to note that when federal army troops, under the control of the Serbs, withdrew from Croatia under a ceasefire agreement signed in January 1992, they withdrew into Bosnia and made their arsenal available to local Serbs. An arms embargo still remains in effect against all of the countries in the former Yugoslavia, including Bosnia and Hercegovina. Thus, the Bosnians have little more than a rag-tag army of untrained civilians with hunting rifles and a handful of tanks acquired through extra-legal means.

Ethnic Cleansing. A practice that began in Croatia almost a year earlier, ethnic cleansing, began to be ruthlessly pursued in Bosnia beginning in April 1992. Local Serbian paramilitary groups formed throughout the country with the military support of Serbia. Indeed, an economic embargo was placed on Serbia and Montenegro for their support of the war in Croatia, and Bosnia and Hercegovina. The goal of these groups was to expel and then repopulate territory with Serbs and then annex this territory to Serbia. United Nations and United States officials have called the very notion of ethnic cleansing a violation of the 1949 Geneva Conventions; in other words, a war crime.

This is how ethnic cleansing is practiced: forces surround a community and begin to shell it. They then ask for all non-Serbs to turn in their weapons, promising they will be left alone and allowed to remain in their homes. Initially, the Muslims, poorly armed if at all, realizing the futility of resisting, generally turned in their weapons. The Serbian forces then either begin to round-up all non-Serbs or begin shelling the community again, despite their promises of safety.

In instances where non-Serbs are rounded-up, there is considerable evidence that many of these people are summarily executed, taken to civilian detention camps or, in the case of women, raped. When the community is shelled civilian facilities--such as churches, schools, hospitals, outdoor markets, homes and apartment buildings--are usually targets since the goal is to force these people to leave. The process of escaping areas under attack has left large numbers of people dead as well. Often, those trying to escape have to walk through the front lines to reach safety, climbing over mountains and hills, carrying as many of their personal belongings as they can manage. Many are weakened from hunger and injured. So, if they are not killed from the sheer difficulty of their journey, they are often killed by snipers, land mines or falling shells.

To date, more than half of the population of Bosnia, more than two million people, have fled their homes to escape the attacks. According to UNICEF, half of this number are children under 12 years of age. There are estimates that at least 136,000 people have been killed and at least 20,000 women raped. Indeed, rape has been used as a psychological weapon in this war, with evidence of Serbian officers ordering soldiers to rape Muslim women, often in front of family members, as a way of humiliating and degrading them, and as a symbol of Serbian power and control. In other cases, women are held at rape camps where they are repeatedly raped everyday. Should they become pregnant, they are held until late in their pregnancy so they cannot have an abortion. Most of the children born as a result of rape are abandoned.

Another tactic used by Serbian forces to cleanse areas of non-Serbs is the denial of food and medicine. The refusal of militias to allow international aid convoys to reach the people in need is designed to force the local population to either flee or to die from injuries, exposure, or starvation. In some areas of Bosnia, medical supplies are so scarce amputations are being performed without anesthesia and with a carpenter's saw.

Hercegovina. The situation in Hercegovina is somewhat different. In general, this area is inhabited by Croatians. They declared their autonomy July 3, 1992, adopting the Croatian flag and other Croatian national symbols. Croatian money is also used here. The sentiment to unite

the two regions appears to be stronger in Hercegovina than in Croatia. With the military support of the government in Zagreb, they have been able to prevent massive ethnic cleansing from occurring, although the area has suffered substantial material damage. Since Croatia is also under an arms embargo, the military support they have given to Croats in Hercegovina has been limited. It also appears that Serbian forces have not invested considerable effort in acquiring Hercegovina.

According to the United Nations, Serb civilians in Bosnia have not been victims of systematic policies of ethnic cleansing, although there have been reprisals committed against them. In addition, many Serbs appear to be fleeing areas under Bosnian Croatian or Muslim control for those areas under Serbian control.

Economics. Economic activity in Bosnia is virtually non-existent; where it does exist it is actually black market activity with goods bought and sold in hard currency, primarily German deutsche marks. The population relies almost exclusively on international humanitarian aid to exist. In Hercegovina the situation is slightly more stable, due to the patronage of Croatia, and in Serbian-controlled areas, supplies are obtained from Serbia or Montenegro.

Government. The government controls only a small percentage of the country's territory. It is essentially only useful in international negotiations and as a symbol of a united Bosnian state. It is composed of Muslims, Croats and Serbs and headquartered in Sarajevo. There is no parliament, but simply a group of ministers that meets to decide policy issues. The Croatian members of the government have often shown themselves to be supportive of Croatian interests, rather than Bosnian ones. Because of the military situation many members of the government have fled the country or been killed.

Peace talks. At the time of writing, both the Bosnian Croats and Muslims had signed on to the Vance-Owen peace plan. This plan calls for the division of Bosnia and Hercegovina into 10 highly autonomous ethnic provinces. The Serbs, who currently control about 70 percent of the country's territory, would be rolled back to 43 percent of the land and would not be given several key industrial areas. The United Nations would send a force up to 50,000 to monitor compliance with the plan.

The Muslims, led by President Alija Izetbegović, agreed to the plan on several conditions, including the establishment of a war crimes tribunal, the consideration of lifting the arms embargo on their forces, slight adjustments to the map, and slightly more authority for the central government. The Croats, led by Mate Boban, agreed to the Muslims conditions and have also called for a lifting on the arms embargo against them. Only the Bosnian Serbs, led by Radovan Karadžić, have rejected the proposal and intensified their attacks on Sarajevo and eastern Bosnia in recent days.

V. RELIGION

The pre-war population of Bosnia and Hercegovina consisted of 44 percent Muslims, 31 percent

Orthodox and 17 percent Roman Catholic. The Muslims are Slavs whose ancestors converted from a heretical Christian sect called Bogomilism to Islam in the 16th century. The Muslims never practiced a radical form of Islam and were integrated in Bosnian society. The Orthodox are Serb, many of whom had ancestors migrate to the northern part of the country to escape Ottoman persecution. The Catholics are Croatian and reside primarily in Hercegovina.

For the Serbs, the Muslims are the legacy of almost 500 years of Turkish domination, dating from the defeat of Serbia at the hands of the Turks in 1389 at Kosovo. This explains the current Serbian policy of destroying all traces of Muslim life, including mosques, in Bosnia: it is an attempt to expunge 500 years of subjugation.

CROATIA

Area: 21,829 sq. miles
Population: 4,601,000
Capital: Zagreb
Language: Croatian (Serbo-Croatian)
Religion: predominantly Roman Catholic
Unit of Currency: Croatian Dinar

I. ALPHABET AND LANGUAGE

The language of Croatia is, linguistically speaking, Serbo-Croatian; however, since declaring independence from Yugoslavia, there is a concerted attempt by the Croatian government and people to call their language Croatian and to reintroduce old Croatian words into the modern vocabulary.

The Western variant of Serbo-Croatian used in Croatia is written in the Latin alphabet. The spoken language has regional variations in vocabulary, slang, accent and intonation. For a guide to Serbo-Croatian pronunciation refer to Bosnia and Hercegovina.

II. GEOGRAPHY

Croatia used to be a republic in Yugoslavia. It declared its independence in June 1991 and was officially recognized as an independent state by the European Community on January 15, 1992.

The geography of Croatia has three distinct components: a lengthy coastline, an Alpine mountain range and a large plains area.

The coastal area borders the Adriatic Sea in the West. It consists of the Istrian peninsula in the northwest which then connects with Dalmatia, the narrow strip of land that runs the length of Croatia. With almost 1,000 offshore islands, the Dalmatian coast is one of the most intriguing and majestic in Europe. Indeed, coastal tourism annually generated billions of dollars for the former Yugoslavia. The largest cities in Dalmatia are Zadar, Split and Dubrovnik; in Istria, Rijeka.

The coast is separated from inland Croatia by the Dinaric Alps, an extension of the Julian chain in Slovenia, which also run north-to-south in Croatia. These mountains have acted as a cultural dividing line, with the coastal area under heavy Italian influence and the inland area under heavy German and Hungarian influence. Indeed, the architecture of the coast has a distinct Renaissance and Mediterranean style, while the architecture of the inland cities and towns is Austrian Baroque and quite Central European.

The Dinaric chain is also a climatic dividing line, preventing the warm air of the Adriatic from penetrating inland, but allowing the cold continental air from eastern and northern Europe to sweep down over the area.

The principle rivers in Croatia are the Sava and the Drava. The Sava bisects Croatia and runs in a southeastern direction from Zagreb in the north and forms the eastern border with Bosnia and Hercegovina. The Drava runs parallel to the Sava, but is farther north and forms the border with Hungary.

The area in between these rivers is the southwestern part of the Pannonian Plain, or Slavonia. It is an area of rich soil, ideally suited for agriculture.

There are minority populations of Italians, Czechs, Hungarians, Muslims, Serbs and Slovenes in Croatia.

III. HISTORY

Early history. The area of present-day Croatia was first settled by Croatian tribes in the sixth and seventh centuries; often they swept into the area with Asiatic hordes. The indigenous population, the Illyrians, were absorbed by the Slavs. In the seventh century these tribes converted to Christianity.

By the eighth century two regions of Croatia began to develop, Dalmatian Croatia and Pannonian Croatia. A century later these regions were subjected to foreign control: Dalmatia to Byzantium and Pannonian Croatia to the Franks. However, the centers of this foreign influence were far enough away that the Croats began to develop a sense of identity by the early tenth century.

In 925 the pope recognized Tomislav, a powerful tribal leader, as the king of Croatia. He united the Pannonian and Dalmatian Croatians and even extended the borders of his territory to include part of Bosnia. This kingdom lasted for almost 200 years.

It was during this time that feudalism gradually took root in Croatia. The leaders of powerful clans assumed the role of the hereditary nobility and amassed large land holdings, reducing the mass population to serfdom.

After a 13-year struggle over the succession to the Croatian crown, the Croatian nobles offered it to the King of Hungary in 1102, with the pope's blessing. This arrangement endured for the next 800 years.

Turkish threat. The threat of a Turkish invasion into Croatia was a real one. In 1463 Bosnia fell to the Turks, followed by Hercegovina in 1483. Periodic incursions into Croatia began and were largely resisted until the Battle of Mohaćs in 1526. The Hungarians and Croatians suffered a devastating defeat to the Turks and resistance ended. By the end of the century, almost all of Slavonia was under Turkish control.

Union with Hungary. In 1527 the Hungarians elected the Hapsburg Emperor Ferdinand as their king and the Croatians followed suit. In an effort to prevent further incursions the Hapsburgs established a Military Border. This area was settled with Serbian refugees fleeing Turkish rule in Serbia and other parts of the Balkans. It was under the direct control of Vienna, with the Inner Austrian estates providing funds for its upkeep. These lands were not reunited with Croatia proper until 1881. Indeed, those areas of Croatia with heavy Serb populations today are the very areas in which the Hapsburgs settled Serb soldier-colonists in the Military Border.

Dalmatia, meanwhile, came under the control of the Venetians. Italian administration, language and culture was introduced and spread rapidly. As a result, there was a vigorous Renaissance in Dalmatian Croatia. The Turkish threat did not subside and was often a theme in some of the

great Dalmatian literary works of the time.

After repulsing a Turkish attack on Vienna in 1683, a coalition of forces pushed the Turks out of Hungary and Slavonia. The resulting Treaty of Karlovci, signed in 1699, effectively drew the territorial dividing line between East and West. The Military Border was extended over this recovered land and settled by large numbers of Serbs, Germans and Croat peasants.

The Ragusan Republic. Dubrovnik, known at the time as the Republic of Ragusa, maintained its independence as an aristocratic state modeled on Venetian administration. It became a center of trade and culture in the Balkans, and also had a vigorous Renaissance. After an earthquake in 1667 the prosperity of the republic declined, but it remained a cultural and maritime center. In 1808 Ragusa lost its independence when Napoleon marched through much of the Balkans.

During the 18th century ties between Croatian and Hungarian nobles, intent on resisting the centralizing tendencies of Vienna, increased and Hungarian was introduced into Croatian schools.

In the early 19th century Croatia was incorporated into Napoleon's Illyrian provinces, which consisted of Slovenia, Istria, Dalmatia and northwest Croatia. Conditions improved during the four years of French rule. Schools were built, the first Croatian-language newspaper appeared, commerce grew and Croatian nationalist sentiment increased.

After Napoleon's defeat, Dalmatia and the Military Border were restored to direct Austrian control; the rest of Croatia went to Hungary in the Hapsburg Empire.

About this time the Croats were agitating for more autonomy from Vienna and Budapest. This sentiment gave rise to a national movement known as Illyrianism. Led by Ljudevit Gaj, the Illyrians found support from the middle and younger classes for a program calling for the unification of the South Slavs through a common language. This movement inspired notions of Croatian statehood and territorial unity.

During the 1848 Hungarian revolution the Croats, under the leadership of their Ban (or viceroy) Jelačić, sided with the Austrian emperor. When the Empire was reconstituted in 1868 as the Dual Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, the Croats were left to work out their own terms with the Hungarians. Although they received autonomy in certain areas (education, internal affairs and justice) the policy of Magyarization remained in place.

National revival. Two political parties gained prominence in Croatia at this time. The National Party, led by Bishop Josif Juraj Strossmayer, advocated the unity of the South Slavs within the Hapsburg Empire; the Party of Rights, led by Ante Starčević, advocated Croatian independence within its medieval boundaries (including the territory of Bosnia and Hercegovina, Dalmatia, the Military Border) plus Slovenia and Istria.

(SEE HISTORY OF YUGOSLAVIA for a continuation)

IV. GOVERNMENT, POLITICS AND ECONOMY

Independence. On June 25, 1991 Croatia joined Slovenia in declaring its independence from Yugoslavia. Since that time there has been fierce fighting in Croatia, as the Serbs in Croatia rebelled and seized almost one third of Croatian territory. More than half a million people have fled their homes in the fighting.

Serbs comprise 12 percent of the Croatian population, with a large majority of them dispersed in various cities and towns. In two areas, eastern Slavonia and the Krajina, however, smaller numbers of Serbs form the majority population in many communities.

After elections in Croatia in the spring of 1990 brought Franjo Tudjman to power, the Serb community feared resurgent Croatian nationalism. Initial words and deeds from the government in Zagreb seemed to lend credence to these fears. In December 1990 Serbs in Krajina declared autonomy and began forming militias with the military support of the federal army controlled by Serbia.

Tensions increased after the declaration of independence. Large-scale fighting erupted in July 1991.

War. Indeed, the ethnic cleansing campaign to create a Greater Serbia began in Croatia. Local Serb militias, with the military support of the federal army, overran Croatian towns and villages, driving Croats from their homes. Many Serbs also fled to Serbia as the fighting destroyed thousands of homes. In other cases, Serbs were resettled in homes vacated by Croats in an attempt to alter the ethnic composition of these areas.

A ceasefire was reached in January 1992 and United Nations peacekeepers were deployed to the contested areas in Croatia in May. Their mission was to disarm the militias, gradually return refugees and displaced persons to their homes and gradually restore civilian control of these areas. Despite the presence of over 16,000 peacekeepers, the Serbs have continued expelling people from their homes and shelling towns and villages in the areas under U.N. protection. The militias refuse to disarm and have agreed to place only some of their heavy artillery under U.N. auspices.

The fighting spread to Bosnia and Hercegovina in April 1992 after it too declared independence. As a result of the fighting in the former Yugoslavia, Croatia is now home to almost 700,000 refugees and displaced persons, or one out of six people living in Croatia.

Economics. Inflation hovers around 30 percent a month. Coastal tourism, which used to bring in almost $2 billion a year, has ground to a halt not only because of the fighting, but also because most hotels on the Adriatic are filled with refugees and displaced persons. Agriculture was also prosperous in Croatia, providing food for much of Yugoslavia and other European nations. Fighting has, however, been intense in the most fertile agricultural land in Slavonia and 1993 is the second year in which farmers were not able to even plant their crops. As a result

living standards, which were quite high prior to the war, have dropped precipitously, causing enormous social tension.

Government. Presidential and parliamentary elections were held in Croatia in early August 1992. Tudjman was re-elected to a five-year term and his HDZ party received a majority of the votes. There has been criticism of Tudjman and his HDZ party for retaining a tight grip on Croatian political life, particularly with regard to the development of an independent press.

Issues relating to the war continue to dominate Croatian life. The U.N. operation, the large numbers of refugees and displaced persons and the arms embargo are particular sources of frustration and annoyance. In January Croatian forces launched an offensive against Serbian militias to reclaim a strategic bridge that was supposed to have been restored to Croatian control last year. The forces pushed on to reclaim additional territory, stirring fears that the war would resume.

In recent weeks, the Serbs still occupying United Nations-patrolled areas have intensified their attacks in Croatia, bombing Dubrovnik for the first time in almost a year. The situation remains extremely volatile and is unlikely to be resolved without additional fighting.

V. RELIGION

The dominant religion in Croatia is Roman Catholicism. The Serbian population in Croatia, about 11 percent, is Orthodox. Although most Serbs live in cities, they form a significant portion of the population in the Krajina and in the area bordering Vojvodina. Serbs were settled in both of these regions by the Hapsburg government as a bulwark against the Turks.

During World War II the Nazis created a puppet state in Croatia under the control of the Ustaša. The Orthodox population suffered intense persecution, with the Ustaša attempting to convert one-third, expel one-third and kill one-third of the Orthodox population. Indeed, much of the current tension between Serbs and Croats can be traced to this period.

Tito moved to normalize relations with the Vatican and the Orthodox Church. Average citizens were allowed freedom of worship.

MACEDONIA

Area: 41,140 sq. miles
Population: 2,038,847
Capital: Skopje
Language: Macedonian
Religion: Orthodox (66.8%), Muslim (31%)
Unit of Currency: Denar

I. ALPHABET AND LANGUAGES

The language of Macedonia is Macedonian, which is written in the Cyrillic alphabet. The language closely resembles Bulgarian. The sounds of letters, when transliterated into Latin letters, roughly correspond to their English equivalents with the following exceptions: **c** as an English **ts** (cats), **č** as the English **ch**, **e** (met), **lj** (million), **nj** (canyon), **i** as an English **ee** (meet), **u** as an English **oo** (moo), **ž** as **zh** (leisure), **dž** as a hard English **j** (jeep), **dz** as in English **adds**, **k'** as in English slang li**keya**, **g'** as in English slang di**gya**, and **kh** as in English (**chutz**pah).

There is also a significant Albanian minority in Macedonia, ranging from 20 to 40 percent depending on which set of statistics is used. This group speaks Albanian, a distinct language group (see the section on Albania).

II. GEOGRAPHY

Macedonia is located in the heart of the Balkans. It used to be the southernmost republic in the former Yugoslavia, bordering on Serbia and Kosovo in the north, Albania in the west, Greece in the south and Bulgaria to the east.

Macedonians voted overwhelmingly in favor of independence in September 1991. While most nations accept the notion of an independent Macedonia within the borders it had as a republic in Yugoslavia, the country has not been recognized as such because of Greek opposition to the name Macedonia. The reason being that Macedonia is a geographical designation for territory larger than the former Yugoslav republic. Portions of Macedonia are also in Bulgaria (Pirin Macedonia) and Greece (Aegean Macedonia). The portion of Macedonia that was in the former Yugoslavia is known as Vardar Macedonia, after the river of the same name.

Geographical fault lines run through Macedonia, making it one of the most vulnerable areas to earthquakes in the former Yugoslavia. In 1963 an earthquake in Skopje, the capital, killed more than 1,000 people and demolished almost all of the city's buildings.

In the southern part of the country are the Dessaretic Lakes. Lake Ohrid and Lake Prespa are the two largest lakes in the region. The highest and most rugged terrain is west of Skopje and along the Bulgarian border. Also in the vicinity of Skopje are large areas of rolling hills. These hills have low valleys and small narrow basins. In some areas the valleys rise abruptly into the steep foothills of the nearby mountains.

The climate is moderate except in the Vardar valley where Mediterranean weather is common.

III. HISTORY

Early history. Slav tribes settled in the region, considerably larger than the territory of the former Yugoslav republic, in the seventh century. The territory was then under the control of

the Byzantine Empire. During the ninth century much of Macedonia was incorporated into the first Bulgarian Empire. In the later half of the tenth century the land was again returned to the Byzantine Empire.

During the 14th century Macedonia was at the heart of the medieval Serbian Empire created by Stefan Dušan. Indeed, the capital of the empire was Skopje, the present-day Macedonian capital. After Dušan's death, the empire slowly disintegrated and after the Serbian loss to the Turks at Kosovo in 1389, most of Macedonia came under the control of the Ottoman Empire. The situation remained this way until the 20th century.

Throughout the centuries, the question of the borders of Macedonia has been an intense one. There is also considerable controversy over the ethnicity of Macedonians, with the Bulgars, Serbs and Greeks each asserting the Macedonians really belong to their respective ethnic groups.

The Bulgarians were successful in lobbying the Turks for a separate Bulgarian Orthodox Church, whose influence extended over Macedonia, a fact much resented by the Serbs. The Bulgars used the Church as a means of extending their influence in Macedonia.

Balkan rivalries. Rivalry between the Serbs, Bulgars, Greeks and Turks, all desiring influence in Macedonia, intensified in the late nineteenth century. Russian troops invaded, and subsequently defeated, Turkey in 1877. Under the Treaty of San Stefano, which the Russians dictated, an enlarged, autonomous Bulgarian state was to be created, including most of Macedonia.

This treaty, however, was quickly nullified by the Treaty of Berlin in 1878, which returned Macedonia to the Ottomans. In addition, the Hapsburg Monarchy was given control of Bosnia and Hercegovina. Both of these moves dealt a blow to Serbian aspirations in the area. The result was to increase Serbian and Bulgarian rivalry over Macedonia. Bulgaria, meanwhile, continued to use the Treaty of San Stefano to assert its claim to Macedonia.

Intensive propaganda campaigns were launched by Bulgarian, Greek and Serbian groups in Macedonia to strengthen their respective claims. In 1896 an underground independence movement was organized in Macedonia, IMRO (Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization). In effect, the group became little more than a terrorist organization (in the interwar period they assassinated and dismembered the Bulgarian peasant party leader, Alexander Stamboliski, and in 1934 they assassinated King Alexander of Yugoslavia in cooperation with the Croatian Ustasha).

Balkan Wars. Competition over Macedonia eventually led to the Balkan Wars of 1912-13 in which Montenegro, Serbia, Greece and Bulgaria allied and successfully drove the Turks from Macedonia. After this victory, the alliance could not agree on a territorial division of Macedonia and further fighting erupted. Bulgaria attacked the Greek and Serbian forced in Macedonia, while Montenegro, Romania and Turkey joined with Greece and Serbia to defeat Bulgaria. The peace treaty signed in 1913 gave northern and central Macedonia to Serbia, the southern region

to Greece and a small section of the eastern region to Bulgaria.

Each country that received a piece of Macedonia attempted to assimilate the inhabitants it acquired.

The areas of Macedonia that came under Serbian control became part of the Serbian territory in the Yugoslav kingdom and is generally referred to as Southern Serbia. After World War II, in 1945, Tito granted Macedonia republican status and engineered the creation of a Macedonian nationality to reduce the power of the Serbs in Yugoslavia. Since that time, Macedonians have considered themselves a nationality separate from Bulgars or Serbs.

(SEE HISTORY OF YUGOSLAVIA for a continuation)

IV. GOVERNMENT, POLITICS AND ECONOMY

Independence. On September 7, 1991 a referendum on the question of independence was held, with 95 percent voting in favor of independence; the Albanians generally boycotted the vote in protest of their uncertain status. In November 1991 the parliament adopted a new constitution and Macedonia became an independent republic.

Lack of recognition. The most serious problem facing Macedonia today is the lack of its recognition as an independent state. As mentioned above, this is due to the refusal of the Greeks to allow the use of the name Macedonia, which they feel is an exclusively Greek name dating to the time of Alexander the Great, who died in 323 B.C., and as such an integral part of their heritage. The Greeks also say that an attempt to use the name Macedonia will lead to an attempt to annex Aegean Macedonia, which is Greek territory.

Greece has thus far managed to convince the European Community and the United States to go along with its position, despite assurances from the Macedonian government that they have no intention of claiming any Greek territory. Greece is unconvinced. There are signs that the international community is becoming impatient with Greece, particularly since Macedonia would be no match for Greece in a military conflict, which would surely erupt if Macedonia attempted to annex Aegean Macedonia.

Economic problems. Greece has blockaded Macedonia in protest over the name controversy, creating an enormous economic crisis in the country. In addition, the decision of the government to respect the international economic sanctions against Serbia and Montenegro has cost the country its largest trading partner.

The lack of international recognition means that Macedonia is ineligible to receive much-needed assistance from international agencies, including the World Bank, International Monetary Fund and the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development.

Government. Macedonia held its first free multiparty elections in November and December 1990. No single party gained a majority. There are nine parties represented in the Macedonian parliament, with four playing a lead role, including the former Communist party, a nationalist IMRO-affiliated party, and an Albanian national party. A new coalition government took office in September 1992 under Prime Minister Branko Crvenkovski, and includes Albanian representatives.

The Albanian Question. Another serious problem facing Macedonia is the status of the Albanian minority. Albanians constitute 21 percent of Macedonia, although leaders of Macedonia's Albanian community insist the real figure is closer to 40 percent. Like the Albanians in Kosovo, the Macedonian Albanians are demanding greater cultural freedoms, including the right to Albanian-language instruction in school. Indeed, the link between Albanians in Kosovo and Macedonia is a potential tinderbox for the Balkans. Should the Albanians in Kosovo, who make up 90 percent of the population, revolt against Serbian oppression it seems likely that many Macedonian Albanians would cross the border to fight alongside their ethnic kin in Kosovo. Such a situation could lead the Serbs to intervene in Macedonia. Given the history of territorial conflict over Macedonia, this scenario is believed to be the one which could lead to a larger Balkan war. Bulgaria would not sit on the sidelines and watch Serbia invade Macedonia without coming to its aid, or attempting to annex it, and Greece is not expected to watch Serbia and Bulgaria fight over Macedonia without intervening.

The president of Macedonia, Kiro Gligorov, has lobbied intensely for recognition, arguing that Macedonia gained independence peacefully, stayed out of the conflict in the rest of Yugoslavia, resolved inter-ethnic tensions, carried out political and economic reform, and fulfilled the conditions set down by the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe for independence. In addition to Greek concerns, Western diplomats are worried that recognizing Macedonia will lead to fighting there, as happened in Bosnia and Hercegovina. Macedonian Foreign Minister Denko Maleski said recently that Macedonian political leaders support a unitary state and are not divided into factions as is the case in Bosnia and Hercegovina.

V. RELIGION

The Macedonians received their own Orthodox Patriarch in 1966. There is a significant Albanian population which is Muslim.

SLOVENIA

Area: 7,819 sq. miles
Population: 1,891,864
Capital: Ljubljana
Language: Slovene
Religion: Predominantly Roman Catholic
Unit of Currency: Tolar

I. ALPHABET AND LANGUAGE

The language of Slovenia is Slovene, which is written in the Latin alphabet. Serbo-Croatian is understood by almost everyone; German is understood by many older people, particularly in Lower Styria; Italian can be heard in the area near Trieste (Italy) and Hungarian is spoken in the area near the Hungarian border. The pronunciation of Slovene is like that of Serbo-Croatian (see Bosnia and Hercegovina for a guide to pronunciation).

II. GEOGRAPHY

Slovenia used to be the northern-most republic in Yugoslavia. It declared its independence in June 1991 and was officially recognized as an independent state by the European Community on January 15, 1992.

Slovenia is an ethnically homogenous republic, with only a small Italian minority on the Istrian peninsula and a Hungarian one near the Hungarian border. The terrain is extremely mountainous and the culture Alpine. The Julian Alps are some of the most rugged in Europe, with many summits exceeding 6,000 feet. The highest peak in the country, Mount Triglav, has an elevation of 9,300 feet. Because of the shape of the peak, Mount Triglav is often referred to as the Three Heads. Slovene peasant lore has it that the Old Three Heads watch over the country: one looks after the past, one the present, and one the future.

In the east the mountains have less well-defined ridges and reach heights of about 1,000 meters in the area near Maribor. South of these mountains the rough terrain changes to hilly areas interspersed with flat valleys. Many of these valleys enlarge into basins with elevations generally less than 450 meters. One of the largest of these extended basins is located near Ljubljana, the capital of Slovenia. The 12-mile long Postojna Cave, also located in this area, is filled with stalactites and stalagmites.

There are also many lakes dotting the landscape, both in the mountains and in the valleys. The most famous of these is Lake Bled in the northwest part of the country, near Mount Triglav. The Adriatic Sea lies to the southwest. Two major rivers run through the country: the Sava, which passes through Ljubljana; and the Drava, which runs through the northeastern part of the country and passes through Maribor.

III. HISTORY

Early History. The area of present-day Slovenia was originally inhabited by a people known as the Illyrians. In 168 B.C., the area became a Roman province. Because of its access to the sea, trade prospered and the province became one of the richest colonies in the Empire. As the power of Rome faded, however, barbarian hordes swept through the Balkans. This opened the way for colonization by Slavs who followed the hordes, and often served them.

The migration of South Slav groups to the area of the former Yugoslavia began in the fourth

century A.D. and ended in the sixth or seventh century A.D. By the eighth century the Slovenes had submitted to the domination of the Franks, led by Charlemagne. German Catholic missionaries converted them to Christianity and introduced German culture. German influence increased and the Slovene peasants became serfs under the German feudal nobility. In the tenth and eleventh centuries the Slovene lands were divided into the administrative units of Carniola, Carinthia and Styria.

For the next two centuries the Slovenes were ruled by a variety of princes until the region came under the control of the Hapsburgs in the late thirteenth century. Until 1918 the Slovene lands were an integral part of the Hapsburg monarchy, although during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the Slovenes, like the Slav groups to the south, were repeatedly subjected to Turkish raids. Life was difficult for the peasantry, now tilling the soil for foreign lords. The towns, inhabited by foreigners, began to decline and commerce slowed.

The Protestant Reformation in the sixteenth century had a strong influence on the Slovenes, with many people converting from Catholicism to Protestantism. The Counter-Reformation, however, was widely supported by the Austrian nobility that held sway over the Slovenes, and conversions back to Christianity began apace. The Catholic Church exerted considerable influence over the peasantry. Indeed, the publication of Bibles, catechisms and grammar books in Slovene was to contribute to the creation of a Sloven national consciousness 300 years later. Jernej Kopitar, in particular, is cited for his contributions to this field.

Under the rule of Maria Theresa and her son Joseph II in the eighteenth centuries, the Hapsburgs began to streamline and centralize the administration in all of the Hapsburg lands. This led to increased Germanization in Slovenia. Although German was made the official language of the state, the peasantry continued to speak Slovene.

National revival. The Slovenes reached their national revival at the end of the 18th century under the leadership of Baron Žiga Zois. They attempted to elevate the status of the Slovene language fought for the right to use it in schools, courts, and local administration. As a result, for many years the printing of primers and poems was given a higher priority than politics.

The 1809 Treaty of Vienna brought most of the Slovene lands (and Croatia) under the control of France, led by Napoleon. These lands, plus the coastal region along the Adriatic called Dalmatia, constituted the Illyrian provinces and were ruled by a French consul. Germanization stopped for a time and the Slovene language was once again restored. Living conditions improved considerably, and additional schools were established.

After the Russians defeated Napoleon in 1812, they pursued him all the way to Paris. The Congress of Vienna in 1815, which met to decide the fate of the lands controlled by Napoleon, restored the Slovene lands to the Austrian Empire.

The 1848 revolution stimulated the first idea of unity among the Slovenes, an idea which gained credence in the 1860s among clerical politicians and intellectuals. By the end of the century the

Slovene state was a fully formed political and social entity.

(SEE HISTORY OF YUGOSLAVIA for a continuation)

IV. GOVERNMENT, POLITICS AND ECONOMY

Independence. Slovenia declared its independence from Yugoslavia on June 25, 1991. After the "10-day War" with the federal army, a ceasefire was agreed upon and the federal army withdrew from Slovenia. Although there has not been any fighting in Slovenia since that time, its politics and economy have been heavily influenced by the fighting to the south in neighboring Croatia, and in Bosnia and Hercegovina. Slovenia has accepted approximately 70,000 refugees from Croatia and Bosnia and Hercegovina.

There are two primary reasons for the limited fighting in Slovenia: it is relatively ethnically homogenous, 88 percent of the population is Slovene, and the borders were not at issue.

Economics. The main issue now for Slovenia is economic. It was the richest republic in the former Yugoslavia, accounting for 20 percent of the gross national product and 30 percent of the exports, although Slovenia made up just 8.4 percent of the total population.

In 1991 output declined by 21 percent, sinking to its 1975 level. Unemployment hovers around 12 percent and threatens to climb higher. More than 1,200 firms employing 171,000 workers are losing money and face closure. Trade with other former Yugoslav republics has decreased and is nonexistent with Serbia and Montenegro due to United Nations sanctions. Living standards have plummeted to their 1972 level. On a more positive note, inflation has dropped to a monthly rate of 1 percent, down from an annual rate of 240 percent in 1991, and Slovenian firms have been successful in increasing exports to Western Europe.

Government. In April 1992 the government of Prime Minister Lojze Peterle, a Christian Democrat, lost a vote of confidence in the National Assembly. He was replaced in May by the head of the Liberal Democrats, Janez Drnovsek, the federal Yugoslav state president from 1989 to 1990.

The first parliamentary and presidential elections since Slovenia declared independence were held on December 6. Approximately 75 percent of eligible voters went to the polls. Eight parties were elected to the parliament; Drnovsek remained prime minister. In the presidential election, Milan Kucan, an independent, won 64 percent of the vote. The results of the election were largely seen as an endorsement of continuing political, economic and social reforms.

V. RELIGION

The Slovenes were converted to Catholicism by German Catholic Frank missionaries in the medieval period. The spread of Protestantism during the Reformation contributed significantly

to the spread of literacy in the Slovene lands, but most Protestants were reconverted to Catholicism in the seventeeth century.

YUGOSLAVIA (SERBIA and MONTENEGRO)*

Area: 51,943 sq. miles.
Population: 13,517,198
Capital: Belgrade
Language: Serbian (Serbo-Croatian)
Religion: Orthodox, with significant Muslim and Catholic populations
Unit of Currency: Dinar

* While the leaders of Serbia and Montenegro have chosen to call their state "Yugoslavia," it has not been accepted by the international community as the successor state of the former Yugoslav federation.